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*The Bangash Nawábs of Farrukhábád—A Chronicle, (1713—1857).—By*  
WILLIAM IRVINE, C. S., *Fatehgarh, N. W. P.* PART II.

(Continued from p. 383 of VOL. XLVII, PART I, 1878.)

*Nawáb Imám Khán, and the Confiscation of the Territory.*

After Káim Khán had been buried, the BÍbí Sáhíba sent for all her husband's sons, and dissimulating her wish to see Imám Khán succeed, directed Ahmad Khán to assume the leadership. Ahmad Khán, who had quickly penetrated her designs, gave a decided refusal. One after another, each son made the same answer. At length Imám Khán was selected and took his seat upon the *masnad*. He seems to have enjoyed little real authority. Although they attended to salute him no one presented any *nazar*; for months not a single *kauri* of revenue came in. After a time men ceased even to go near him, since he had no income from any source, by which he could assert his title.

When news of the defeat and death of Káim Khán reached Delhi, many were deeply grieved and wrung their hands with sorrow; on the contrary, 'Abd-ul-Mansúr Khán Safdar Jang was rejoiced, and at once laughed and joked about the sad event. He then persuaded the Emperor that if he proceeded to Farrukhábád in person, the surviving Bangash leaders would be deprived of all excuse for not attending and submitting themselves. Even if they should refuse to obey and decline to deliver up their wealth, the result would be the same; they would be compelled to take to flight, and thus they

would be extirpated from the imperial territory. The young Emperor, who was entirely subservient to the Wazír, agreed to all his plans.

At the end of Zi'l Hajj 1162 H. (November 1749), Ahmad Sháh marched from Delhi as far as Koil; and Safdar Jang, leaving the Emperor, advanced to Thána Daryáoganj in Parganah Azamnagar of the Eta district, about thirty-five miles north-west of Farrukhábád.\* He had with him forty thousand Mughals from Irán under the command of his relations, Mirzá Nasir-ud-din Haidar, Nawáb Sher Jang, Nawáb Ishák Khán and others.

At the same time the Wazír ordered Rájáh Naval Ráe to march to meet him without delay. This Naval Ráe, the Wazír's Diwán or Bakhshi, was a Saksena Káyath of the Chakwa and Parásna family, hereditary Kanungoes of Parganah Etáwah. He had risen by his own merits to be deputy governor of the Súbahs of Audha and Allahábád. He first was brought into notice by Ratn Chand Banya, the Diwán of 'Abdullah Khán and Husain Ali Khán (1712—1721).†

Naval Ráe, leaving the Sarkár of Lakhnau, marched towards Farrukhábád. On the 16th Muharram 1163 H. (15th December 1749), after Ráe Rám Náráyan had joined with 10,000 men, he crossed the Ganges. The day afterwards he moved to the banks of the Káli four or five *kos* distant. The next day Naval Ráe and Nawáb Baká-ullah Khán crossed by the ford and stood on foot side by side encouraging their men to exertion, the river being in flood, with heavy rain falling and a cold north wind blowing. Supplies were scarce and grain was the price of saffron. After a day spent in drying their things, the army marched to within three *kos* of Khudáganj, where the Afgháns were posted with a force estimated at 29,000 men and artillery. Another march of one and a half *kos* was made, and hostilities were imminent. Mír Muhammad Saláh and Rájáh Pirthí Pat were placed in the van, Naval Ráe himself led the main body, while the left wing was commanded by Nawáb Baká-ullah Khán and the right by Ráe Rám Náráyan. There were 25,000 horsemen, 100 elephants and innumerable camp followers; and the camp stretched for five or six *kos* as far as the eye could reach. Negotiations were, however, opened and the Patháns returned to Farrukhábád. On the 23rd Muharram (22nd Dec. 1749) Naval Ráe was at Khudá-

\* One account says he camped at Súrajpúr, but I do not know where that village is.

† S-ul-M. 875, Hisám-ud-din, and Gaz. N. W. P. IV. 307. See also the *Hadikat-ul-Akálím*, third Clime, under Sarkár Lakhnau, as to the founding of Navalganj and Khushálganj. Under *Itáwah* it is stated that Naval Ráe was born at Khaksís (?) He left a son, Khushál Ráe, who was subsequently naib of Allahabad under Asaf-ud-daula.

ganj. The Nawáb Wazír was then reported to be at Kásganj, and there was some talk of investing Farrukhábád.

We now return to the events occurring at Farrukhábád. Although the younger brothers of Káim Khán and many experienced chelas still survived, at first no plan was decided upon, nothing was undertaken. At length by the exertions of Shamsher Khán, chela, some men were collected and posted, as we have just seen, on the banks of the Kálinadi near Khudáganj, seventeen miles south-east of the city, thus barring the advance of Rájáh Naval Ráe. Muqím Khán, chela, was sent out in the other direction as 'Amil of Parganah Shamshábád, with orders to take possession of the late Khán Bahádúr Khán's property. Dáud Khán, Sa'dat Khán, Islám Khán and other chelas patrolled round the city night and day. Meanwhile the Bibí Sáhíba and Imám Khán prayed God fervently that the Emperor might not be led astray by the Wazír's wicked advice, nor take away from their family the territory of Muhammad Khán Bangash, Ghazanfar Jang. To avert this calamity a friendly letter was prepared, and sent in a submissive manner to 'Abd-ul-Mansúr Khán Safdar Jang. It reminded him that formerly, when a noble was slain in battle, his treasures were appropriated while his dignities were conferred on his children. They hoped, therefore, that the prayers of the widow would be heard, that a *farmán* would be granted pardoning all bygone offences, and confirming the maháls in the name of Imám Khán.

From his camp at Daryáoganj the Wazír replied, that he had already presented a paper of requests to the Emperor, who had graciously signed an order conferring the territory on Imám Khán. This order he had brought with him. There was, however, the condition usual in such cases, that they should appear in person in the camp of the Wazír, who was invested with full powers, and place before him a large sum by way of fine (*nazarana*) on confirmation. Should allegiance be professed in the way suggested, there was little doubt that the *farmán* would be carried into effect, the dress of honour conferred, and with it the rank and dignity held by the former Nawábs. There were other flattering and deceitful words; for instance, he said he had bitterly felt the loss of Káim Khán, it was like that of a brother, it was as if his right hand had been cut off; but, please God, he would not leave a vestige of the Rohela seed in the whole of Hindústán. Suspecting no treachery, the Bibí Sáhíba believed in the truth of these promises, and began to prepare for departure to the Wazír's camp. A camel rider was sent to recall Shamsher Khán and Ja'far Khán from Khudáganj where they barred the way to Rájáh Naval Ráe. Instructions were also sent to them to engage Naval Ráe if possible in their favour, for he had the greatest influence over the Wazír.

By this time Rájáh Naval Ráe, seeing that without hostilities he could not continue his march, had despatched a letter to Shamsheer Khán and Ja'far Khán, telling them that he was a well-wisher to the family of the late Ghazanfar Jang, and when he reached the Wazír's camp, he would secure for them what they wanted without the slightest difficulty. The chelas, in the innocence of their hearts, believed these deceitful promises. Their readiness to listen to his proposals was increased on hearing that the Bibí Sáhíba intended to go to the enemy's camp to treat, and quitting their position at Khudáganj they returned to Farrukhábád.

On their arrival the Bibí Sáhíba set out with her chelas for the camp. When she reached Mau all the Paṭhán came out to meet her, and next day when she resumed her march, the Paṭhán commanders formed themselves into an escort. On arriving within three *kos* of the Wazír's camp they halted, and when he heard of her arrival the Wazír sent out Sher Jang to meet her. On coming near the equipage of the Bibí Sáhíba he descended from his elephant, and standing in an attitude of respect, he expressed with tears his sorrow at the loss of Nawáb Káim Khán. He wept because he and the Nawáb were brothers by exchange of turbans. The Bibí Sáhíba said to him, "I count on you to replace Káim Khán, and in this time of trouble, I expect you to side with me." Sher Jang swore by his head and eyes, that he was ready to give up even his life for her. The Bibí Sáhíba was then conducted to her encampment near that of the Wazír. Negotiations began through Sher Jang.

Shortly after this Rájáh Naval Ráe arrived. But, when he received audience of the Wazír, he did not act up to the promises he had made at Khudáganj. Indeed, he acted exactly contrary to his professions, and spoke nothing but evil of the Bangash family. This double-dealer, being trusted by the Wazír more than the rest of his servants, found acceptance for his evil words. From that time Sher Jang was set aside, and the matter was put into the hands of Rájáh Naval Ráe. He sent for Shamsheer Khán, Ja'far Khán and others, and demanded that, before they began to talk about the territory and the revenue-free grants, a payment of one *kror* of rupees should be made to the imperial treasury. After a long altercation Shamsheer Khán and Ja'far Khán stood on one side and held a whispered conversation. They then came forward and agreed to give thirty lakhs of rupees nine lakhs in cash and goods, the balance of twenty-one lakhs to be paid in three years, on condition that the Emperor's *farmán* issued for the former territory, with the usual robe of investiture and a grant of the titles and dignities held by the former Nawábs. The Rájáh rose and said, "Be it so, I will report what you say to the Wazír, and in the evening I will inform you of his orders." He then went to the Wazír and reported what had passed.

When they had consulted together, Názir Yáqút Khán was sent to the Bibi Sáhíba. She received him and touching his "*nazar*" remitted it. Directly she saw him she burst into tears, for he called to mind her own chela, Yáqút Khán Khán Bahádur. Yáqút Khán, having made a condoling reference to the late Khán Bahádur, went on to deliver his message. The Wazír said that he would look on her as his own mother, that Ghazanfar Jang and Káim Khán had been nobles of the highest rank, and that their successors should hold the same position. It was absolutely necessary, however, that she should make a payment of one *kror* of rupees. Bibi Hajíáin, without consulting the Bibi Sáhíba and against her wishes, began to say that as the Bibi Sáhíba could not help herself she would give half a *kror*, or fifty lakhs of rupees (£500,000). The Názir then asked for a blank paper with seal affixed. The Bibi Sáhíba, without referring to Shamsheer Khán and Ja'far Khán, attached her seal to the paper and made it over to the messenger, who carried it off to the Wazír. Then the Wazír wrote out the sum of sixty lakhs of rupees. After this he told the Bibi Sáhíba to return to Farrukhábád, accompanied by Názir Yáqút Khán and Jugal Kishor, who were to receive payment of the money.

Rájáh Naval Ráe sent for Shamsheer Khán and Ja'far Khán and told them that they were responsible for the due payment to the imperial treasury of the sixty lakhs, which the Bibi Sáhíba had agreed to with her own lips. Titles and rent-free grants were promised to them in reward. The chelas went to the Bibi Sáhíba and complained of her having promised sixty lakhs, when they had already settled for thirty lakhs. The Bibi Sáhíba defended herself by saying it was Bibi Hajíáin's fault. There being no remedy the Bibi Sáhíba started for Farrukhábád with Yáqút Khán and Jugal Kishor. All the cash in the treasury, the jewels, the ward-robe, the furniture of the rooms, the kitchen utensils, the elephants, the horses, the camels, the cannon, the cattle, everything they had, was made over to the Wazír's agents. The eunuchs examined each article, appraised it at half its value, and then from the total thus arrived at they deducted half a lakh of rupees. The sum allowed was forty-five lakhs of rupees. The agents demanded the balance of fifteen lakhs from Shamsheer Khán and Ja'far Khán; but they could only promise to pay the required sum within three years. The Názir (Yáqút Khán) then directed that the Bibi Sáhíba should set out next day for the Wazír's camp, where all he could do to intercede for her should be done.

The next day the Bibi Sáhíba with her sons and chelas set out on her return to the Wazír's camp. When she came to Mau all the Patháns visited her to pay their respects, and from that place joined her retinue. On reaching the neighbourhood of the Wazír, she set up her encampment. Next

morning Shamsher Khán and the other chelas were sent for by Naval Ráe, and a demand made for the balance due. They were kept waiting till the evening with plausible words and the hope of a favourable decision. Meanwhile Naval Ráe went to the Wazír, announcing himself by a Harkára, of whom there were ten to twelve thousand employed as spies and messengers. Admitted to the presence of the Wazír, he reported in detail what had passed with Shamsher Khán and the others, and he also called attention to the large assemblage of Paṭháns in the Bibi Sáhíba's retinue. After this a messenger was sent to the chelas directing them to remain where they were that night, for their business had been put off till the next day. As a precaution against any opposition by the Paṭháns, Naval Ráe during the night, which was very dark, caused several guns protected by chains to be posted in front of the Bibi Sáhíba's camp. Then he sent to ask the Bibi Sáhíba if she had come to treat or to fight; if the former, he would advise her to send off to their homes the large body of armed Paṭháns who had accompanied her. The Bibi Sáhíba sent for the commander of each regiment (*tuman*) and ordered them to march back to Mau. They represented that being hereditary servants of her house, it was not right that, with their eyes open, they should leave her in the midst of the enemy's army, for their desertion would doom her to certain destruction. The Bibi Sáhíba's answer was that a wise man, after consenting to pay a large sum, should not raise further difficulties. The whole of the Paṭháns, unable to shake her resolution, marched away to Mau. There, to protect their families and property, they posted themselves outside the town in the mango groves, and remained on the alert day and night.

The Wazír, after having ordered Naval Ráe to keep Shamsher Khán and the four other chelas under surveillance, directed his march eastwards. When word was brought to Farrukhábád that the five chelas had been arrested, and that the Wazír was advancing eastwards, the inhabitants removed with their belongings to the town of Mau, and hardly a soul was left in the city. When the Wazír with his army came near to Mau, Rájah Naval Ráe asked urgently for permission to burn it down and level it with the ground, so that not a vestige might be left. Although in his heart the Wazír approved of this suggestion, still prudence prevailed, and he replied that the Paṭháns were too many and too powerful to be attacked, and as they might gain the upper hand, the project had better be postponed till some more fitting opportunity. It was enough to be thankful for that the mother of Kám Khán, her sons, and her principal chelas had fallen into their hands. When the Wazír with his retinue drew near to Mau, he saw enough to convince him that what he had foretold was true, for all the Afgháns, whether infantry or horsemen, were drawn up on foot, with rockets, arrows, and matchlocks, ready to repel any attack. Without

attempting to interfere with them, the Wazir continued his advance eastwards along the banks of the Ganges till he came to Yáḳútganj, some six miles south-east of the city of Farrukhábád, and there he encamped.

Rájah Naval Ráe marched through the town of Shamsábád, and on reaching the city of Farrukhábád, went to the fort, where for some reason he remained. When he saw the fort and buildings, he exclaimed—"With places like this they presumed to give themselves out for *Báwan Hazáris* (commanders of fifty-two thousand); the fort is just like that of a petty zamindar." He made other similar depreciatory remarks. Next morning he marched and rejoined the Wazír at Yáḳútganj. Then, like as the fowler scatters grain to lure the birds into his net, so the Nawáb Wazír entertained the Bibi Sáhíba, the five sons, and the five chelas with costly food, and furnished them with supplies of every description. Meanwhile he put off a final decision from day to day on various pretexts. Every day they looked for investiture with the khilá't, to be followed by dismissal to their homes. Several days passed in this way. One night the Wazír asked Naval Ráe for his advice. His opinion was that the chelas should be fettered, and that the Wazír should march for Delhi taking them with him. On his departure, Naval Ráe said, he would seize the mother of Káim Khán and the five young Nawábs, whom he would send off to the fortress of Allahábád. The Wazír approved of these proposals. Next day the five chelas\* were seized, and placed upon elephants. The army then marched stage by stage past Muhamdábád† and through Sarae Aghat‡ on its return to Delhi.

After the departure of the Wazír, one day the Káyath sent for the five sons,§ and with deceptive words he began to extol the greatness, the glory, the bravery and the generosity of their family. Then getting up himself on some pretext, he said to an attendant in his confidence, "I will return in a moment, bring the dresses of honour for the princes (Sáhibzádas)." Having said this he went away. Suddenly Mir Muhammad Saláh, accompanied by a number of fully armed men, with iron chains and a blacksmith, entered behind the princes. Nawáb Husain Khán who was also of the Shia (Imámiya) sect, said to Mir Muhammad Saláh, "Was there no one else with this unbeliever, O Mir Sáhíb! that you should accept this service; it is strange that a man of your race|| should perform such an unworthy

\* (1) Shamsheer Khán, (2) Ja'far Khán, (3) Muḳim Khán, (4) Islám Khán, (5) Sardár Khán.

† Thirteen miles west of Farrukhábád, on the Mainpuri road.

‡ In Parganah 'Azamnagar, about 26 miles west of Farrukhábád.

§ 1, Imám Khán, 2, Husain Khán, 3, Fakhr-ud-dín Khán, 4, Ismá'il Khán, and 5, Karímdád Khán.

|| *i. e.*, a Sayyad or descendant of the Prophet.

“ office ; had we only arms by us, we should try first what our swords could do.” Having said this, he stretched out his feet to be fettered, and each of the other princes, out of affection for his brothers, claimed to be ironed first. This indignity having been completed, they were placed in litters under guard, and forwarded to the fort at Allahábád. The news of their arrest spread consternation and despair amongst all the Afgháns.

By direction of the Wazír, Rájáh Naval Ráe now took up his quarters at Kannauj, forty miles south-east of Farrukhábád, near the junction of the Kálinadi with the Ganges. This place was selected as being midway between the two Subahs of Audh and Allahábád and the new territory acquired from the Bangash family. Naval Ráe lived in the Motiya Mahal, built by the founder of the large saráe at Mirán-ki-Saráe, which he re-christened the Rang Mahal. Directly under his orders he had forty thousand horsemen. There were in addition the troops commanded by Nawáb Baká-ullah Khán, Amír Khání Nawáb 'Aṭá-ullah Khán, former ruler of 'Azimábád, Mirza 'Ali Kuli Khán, Mirza Muhammad Ali Kochak, Mirza Najaf Beg, Mirza Mashadi, Aká Muhammad Bákir Yarmani, Mír Kudrat 'Ali Khán Dáipuri,\* Mír Muhammad Saláh Miránpuri.† From Kannauj were despatched subordinate rulers (*ámils*) and collectors of revenue (*sazáwals*) with orders to proclaim from lane to lane through all the villages the defeat and degradation of the Paṭháns. These agents, in their rapacity, acting even in excess of their instructions, began to levy fines from every inhabited place up to the confines of the towns of Shamsábád, 'Aṭáepur and Káimganj. The town of Mau alone escaped. It owed its safety to the number of Paṭháns inhabiting it, of the tribes of Bangash, Afridi, Toyah, Khaṭak, Ghilzai, Warakzai, Kochar, Dilázák, Khalíl and Mahmand. These stood ready day and night to repel force by force, but they refrained from beginning hostilities, for fear of injury to the Bibi Sáhíba who remained in the custody of Naval Ráe.

It was arranged that Munshi Sáhíb Ráe, an old servant of the Bangash family, who knew Naval Ráe before, should be sent to him. Being of the same caste and having already made Naval Ráe's acquaintance at Delhi, in a few days he managed to be admitted to the drinking bouts, which took place every night in the Rang Mahal after business was over. One night Naval Ráe got drunk, and knowing a little of the Shástras began to talk on religion, boasting also of his bravery. Sáhíb Ráe, pretending to be

\* Dáipur is in Parganah Kannauj, it is the easternmost village adjoining the first village in the Cawnpur parganah of Bilhor.

† This Miránpur is, I suppose, the town in the Bárha Sádát of the Muaffarnagar district, 16 miles east of Khátauli. The 'Amád-us-Sá'dat (p. 48), tells us he was a Bárha Sayyad.



equally drunk, replied that all this talk was flatly contradicted by his acts, which were directly opposed to the Shástras. Naval Ráe asserted that up to that day he had done no act forbidden by the Dharm-Shástra. Sáhíb Ráe said—"What direction of the Dharm-Shástra is this then, by which "you vex poor innocent women, if this is sanctioned by the words of any "saint or sage, then quote the passage." Naval Ráe denied that he had injured any woman. Sáhíb Ráe at once seized the opportunity and said, "To-day I saw a woman in prison said to be a Paṭhání, I have heard she "has done no harm; where, then, are your pious pretensions, you who have "a woman and a widow in your custody. Even admitting she is guilty, "you are now in full and peaceable occupation of this territory, and keep-"ing the widow is quite unnecessary." Naval Ráe at the time thought this reasoning just, and, it being then midnight, he told Sáhíb Ráe to go and release her. Sáhíb Ráe replied that without an order in writing her guards would not let her go. Then Naval Ráe, stupified as he was, attached his seal to an order of release. Sáhíb Ráe hurried to the entrance gate, showed the order to the sentries and gave them some money. He then urged the Bibi Sáhíba to lose not a moment, and she getting out her bullock *rath* started at once. They made such good speed that they reached Mau, a distance of sixty-one miles, in the space of nine hours, and when they got there one of the bullocks dropped down dead. At Kannauj, when morning broke, Sáhíb Ráe forestalled every one by enquiring from Naval Ráe whether during the night he had ordered the release of the Bibi Sáhíba or not. When Naval Ráe replied that he had not done so, Sáhíb Ráe produced the written order. He upbraided Sáhíb Ráe for having tricked an old friend, but Sáhíb Ráe retorted that he placed his duty to his salt before friendship. Naval Ráe ordered him out of his presence and despatched five hundred horsemen to bring back the Paṭhání. They rode as far as Nabiganj and the Káli river, but did not find her. The Káyath then wrote to the Wazír an account of her escape in which he screened himself as best he could.\*

The oppressions of Naval Ráe's subordinates proceeded beyond all bounds, and the Afgháns began to concert together measures of resistance. A final outrage goaded them into revolt. One day a woman took some thread to the bazar for sale; and a Hindu in the service of Naval Ráe bought and paid for it. The woman took the money and spent it. A month afterwards the purchaser brought back the thread and wished to return it. The woman said she could not give back the price, nor was it the custom to give things back after a month. The Hindu used abusive

\* Life of H. R. R. pp. 36, 37. The last part of p. 36, and top of p. 37, is all wrong. Naval Ráe did not need to pass through Mau, nor was he waylaid at three *kos* from that place.

language, she replied in similar terms; whereupon he took off his shoe and struck her. She began to beat her head and breast, and went to the principal Patháns, telling them it had been better if God had granted daughters only to Muhammad Khán, and she called down God's curse on them, the turban-wearers, for allowing her, the wife of an Afrídí, to be beaten with a shoe by a Hindu from the Kotwáli (police post).<sup>\*</sup> Rustam Khán, a wealthy Afrídí, and several of the leaders from each *tuman* went to the Bibi Sáhíba's entrance gate, and told her that they would no longer submit in silence to the oppression of Naval Ráe. She asked their plans. They told her that if she would place one of her sons at their head to lead them on to victory, they would attack Rájáh Naval Ráe. She counselled them to dismiss such idle thoughts from their minds, for how could she join them while five of her sons were in the fort at Allahábád, and five of her principal chelas in prison at Delhí. When Rustam Khán and the others found the Bibi Sáhíba turned a deaf ear to them, they resolved on other plans.

*Nawáb Ahmad Khán Ghálib Jang.*

Ahmad Khán, second son of Nawáb Mubammad Khán, during the lifetime of his elder brother, Káim Khán, lived for some time at Delhí. He had taken a farming lease of five parganahs, Sakráwah and others, from his brother Káim Khán. Instead of remitting the revenue he spent it on a silver howdah, such as none but Káim Khán used, and caused a fan of peacock's feathers to be waved over his head. Mahmúd Khán Bakhshi denounced Ahmad Khán to Nawáb Káim Khán, and at his instigation a thousand horse were despatched to Sakráwah with orders to cut off Ahmad Khán's head. Having received word of their approach Ahmad Khán escaped to Rudain in Parganah Kampil, thirty miles north-west of Farrukhábád, where his father-in-law lived, and thence he made his way to Delhí, where he placed himself under the protection of Gházi-ud-din Khán Firúz Jang. When the war with the Rohelas broke out, he managed with the connivance of Firúz Jang to escape from Delhí at midnight, without receiving the Emperor's permission. We have already mentioned the part he took in the campaign.

After the confiscation of the territory and the return of the Wazír to Delhí, Ahmad Khán lived in retirement at Farrukhábád in his house, known till a few years ago as the "Kacha Kíla'" (the mud fort), near the Bihisht Bágh. He could barely afford to keep two servants and a boy Ramzáni, the son of an old servant of the house. Some months passed in this way, when one day in the month of Sáwan (July) fifteen men from Mau, each

<sup>\*</sup> Amád-us Sa'dat, p. 46, from line 2. Ahmad Khán was I believe at Farrukhábád, so I have omitted his name from this story, the scene of which is Mau.

with a slave behind him, rode in at midday and dismounted. Ahmad Khán when he saw them was greatly perplexed to know what it meant. The Patháns saluted him, and he asked their errand. For fear of Naval Ráe's spies, who prowled about the city, they said they had come to make some wedding purchases. The Nawáb ordered food to be got ready for them.

The visitors then said they wished to talk to the Nawáb in private. The two khidmatgars and the boy Ramzáni were turned out, and the chain was put on the female apartments. The discussion endured for some five hours, during which Ramzáni was called in to fill *huqqa* after *huqqa*. Whenever he went in, all the Patháns stopped speaking. From the sounds which came out through the doors, it appeared that the Nawáb was maintaining an argument with them, to some things he agreed, others he disputed. It appeared afterwards that the Nawáb had told them he had no confidence in them; as they had forsaken Káim Khán on the field of battle, so would they forsake him. Then they put up their hands respectfully and pledged themselves never to quit him in the hour of danger, they would either conquer or die. The Nawáb demanded an oath from them and they solemnly swore fidelity to him on the holy Kurán.

A little before sunset the Patháns said they must go, there being little daylight left in which to make their purchases, and the next day they must return to Mau. They mounted and went away to the Tirpolya Bazar where each bought what he wanted. Naval Ráe's spies and patrols challenged them, but they said they had come to buy cloth in the bazar. They were really Rustam Khán and a deputation of Patháns from Mau. They stopped the night at Ahmad Khán's and finally obtained his adherence to their plans. They then returned to Mau.

In a few days a messenger, Ghul Miyan, came from the Bibi Sáhiba asking Ahmad Khán to come to Mau. Hiring eight kahars and having his old *palki*, the pole of which was nearly in two, tied together with rope, he set out for Mau. There he paid his respects to the Bibi Sáhiba and presented his *nazar*. Apparently she had been talked over, and was now eager for an attack on Naval Ráe. The only difficulty was the want of funds.

Rustam Khán Afrídí, on condition of a grant of the half of any territory recovered, brought out all the ready money he possessed to the extent of some thousands of rupees. This money was divided according to their need among his brothers and the several commanders (*Tumandár*). Ten thousand rupees were sent to Nawáb Ahmad Khán for his more pressing expenses. In return the Nawáb conferred on Rustam Khán the dignity of Bakhshi, or Commander-in-Chief, and sent him a robe of investiture of seven pieces. A well-to-do Kúrmi, named Ghassá, of Chaloli, close to

Káimganj, was induced on receipt of a revenue-free grant of that village to make an advance of several thousand rupees. Some money is also said\* to have been obtained by the plunder of a trader's house in a town sixteen *kos* from Mau, where seventy bags of rupees and one bag of gold had just been received from Lakhnau.

After some money had been collected in these various ways, the Nawáb set up his standard in the Moti Bágh in Chaloli. His force soon amounted to six thousand men, which rumour magnified into fifty thousand. Here the Bibi Sábiba invested Ahmad Khán with a *khilat* as reigning Nawáb, and the Patháns presented their offerings. Ghassá Kurmi was sent to attack the Thána of Shamsábád, some five or six miles east of Mau. On the same day men, who were told off for the purpose, fell upon all Naval Ráe's thánas and overpowered his men.

Nine days after the first rising Ahmad Khán brought out all his cash and placed it in a tent.† He then proclaimed by beat of drum that he who could not support himself would be permitted, after his third fast, to take from this money, if a footman, one and a quarter anna, if a horseman, three annas. To take more was prohibited; and those who were well off took nothing. The army, now swollen to some twelve thousand horsemen and twelve thousand foot, marched from the Moti Bágh, and in five days reached the Jasmái gate at Farrukhábád, where they halted near the house of Miyan 'Alí Sháh. The rains of Bhádwan (July—August) were falling, and as protection against the continuous wet weather, some put up mats, some reed screens, some blankets, and some sheets. There were some even who had nothing and camped in the open. Proposals to attack the Bantelas of Rashápur, who had taken possession of some of the vacant forts in the city, were brought forward but rejected by the Nawáb. In his opinion there was no need of entangling themselves in such brambles before they had overcome Naval Ráe. The march was resumed and the next halt was at Amánábád, parganah Bhojpur, about six miles south of Farrukhábád on the Cawnpúr road.

#### *Battle of Khúdaganj and death of Naval Ráe.*

A short time after the first rising, word had been brought to Naval Ráe at Kannauj that the Patháns of Mau had risen and had surprised all his thánas. Naval Ráe began by using strong language about stripping naked all those Pathán bakers (*nánpaz*) and vegetable sellers (*kunjra*) including their women; and he swore they should all be trodden to death under the

\* 'Amad-us-Sa'dat, p. 46.

† Of the kind called Dalal-Khání, so made that, however strong the wind blows or however heavy the rain is, it will neither fall nor leak.

feet of elephants. Then he ordered out his artillery and camp equipage, and marched westwards from Sháhábád—Kannauj, at the head of an immense force, with one thousand cannon of all sorts, large and small. He pushed on to the Káli river as quickly as possible, and crossing it pitched his camp on the left bank near Khudáganj, seventeen miles south-east of Farrukhábad and twenty miles north-west of Kannauj.\* Soon after this, letters from the Wazír arrived, announcing his own approach and giving orders that till the two forces had joined, the attack was to be postponed. The Wazír's words were, that if any of the wild beasts, *i. e.*, the Patháns, survived the battle, he would tie stones round their necks and drown them in the river, not one of their seed should be left alive in Hindústán. Naval Ráe proceeded to carry out these orders. He caused a ditch to be dug round his camp, and posting his guns all round his entrenchment, he secured them to each other by chains. Heralds (*nakíb*) were sent to proclaim aloud from tent to tent the Wazír's instructions, and the army was warned that any one engaging the enemy would come under the displeasure of the Wazír and the Rájáh.

Meanwhile, on the Bangash side, at Rustam Khán's suggestion, Nawáb Ahmad Khán ordered a march eastwards. His personal troops were under the command of his son, Mahmúd Khán, then about fifteen years of age, and there were other contingents under Zu'lfiqár Khán, Khán Sámán Khán, Jamál Khán, Muhammad Máh Khán, Bahádur Khán, Roshan Khán, Makhan Khán, 'Abd-ur-rahím Khán, Biráhim Khán Káshmiri, Yár Khán of Dáipur and Mirzá Anwar Beg. There were also the following chelas of Nawáb Muhammad Khán, Ghazanfar Jang, *viz.*, Háji Sarfaráz Khán, Ranmast Khán, Sarmast Khán, Námdár Khán the elder, Námdár Khán the younger, Sherdil Khán, Náhardíl Khán, Jowáhir Khán, Salábat Khán, Hafízullah Khán, Bárá Khán, Pahár Khán, the five sons of Shamsheer Khán, two sons of Muqím Khán, 'Usmán Khán, son of Islám Khán, also Mahtáb Khán and Diláwar Khán Janúbi. The Patháns encamped about two miles from the army of Naval Ráe. The site of the encampment was, tradition says, at Rajepúr on the metalled road, three miles north-west of Khudáganj.

To reinforce Naval Ráe, the Wazír had on the 27th and 28th Sha'bán (21st and 22nd July, 1750), detached a force of twenty thousand men under Nasír-ud-dín Haidar, Isma'il Beg, Muhammad Ali Khán Risaldar, Rájáh

\* The author of the "'Amád-us-Sa'dat'" tells us (p. 47,) that to the Káli river are ascribed miraculous properties. When only knee-deep, if you beat the kettle-drums, it rises over an elephant's head. He offers the rationalistic explanation that the bottom is yielding, and soon gets trodden into a quagmire, so that any one afterwards crossing by the same passage would sink in.

Debi Datt, Faujdár of Koil, and others. When Rájáh Jaswant Singh of Mainpuri\* heard that this force had reached Sakít† he sent word of its approach to Nawáb Ahmad Khán, telling him that in one day it would reach Mainpuri, and unless he finished with Naval Ráe at once, he would be attacked both in front and rear. On receiving this intelligence the Nawáb sent for Rustam Khán and Sardár Khán Paṭháns and told them the news. They said they were ready. The Nawáb replied "To-morrow, putting our trust in the mercy of God, we must attack the enemy, and let events take their course."

Ghul Miyan, a clever spy, was sent disguised as a faqir to reconnoitre the enemy's camp. He found no place unprotected with cannon, except one entrenchment held by Sayyads of Bárah, which lay quite at the back of the camp, to the south, on the banks of the Kálinadi. Ghul Miyan returned to the Nawáb and reported that this place was guarded by five hundred matchlockmen only, but to reach it would entail a détour of three *kos*. He promised to conduct the Nawáb to the spot.

Accordingly, at three hours after sunset on Thursday the 9th Ramzan 1163 H. (1st August 1750), Ahmad Khán having ejaculated a "*Bism-illah*" got into his *palki* and set out, followed by twelve thousand Paṭháns on foot and twelve hundred horsemen. Rustam Khán was posted on his left. Heavy rain was falling at the time. Ghul Miyan took them up to the right hand a distance of three *kos*, in order that the tramp of the horses' hoofs might not reach the ears of the enemy. In this way the front of Naval Ráe's camp was avoided, and they got round in his rear near to the Káli where was the position held by the five hundred Sayyads. This spot is said to have been on the boundary of the two villages of Kaithá and Gangni, about a mile west of the town of Khudáganj.

At an hour and a half before sunrise, Ghul Miyan pointed out to the Nawáb the Sayyads' battery in front. The Sayyads heard the talking and said to each other, that it seemed as if the Paṭháns were coming to the attack, and they redoubled their vigilance. Then the Paṭháns made a rush, and from both sides matchlocks were discharged and swords used. The rain increased the confusion, for it was difficult to hear what one man said to another. An alarm passed through the camp that the Paṭháns had effected an entry into one of the entrenchments. At the time it was so dark that you could not tell friend from foe. Then the artillerymen began to fire their guns altogether at random, those on the west fired to the west, those on the north to the north, and those on the south to the south.

\* Gaz. N. W. P. IV, 550. Rájáh from S. 1783 to S. 1814 (1726-1757 A. D.)

† In Parganah Eta-Sakít of the Eta district about twenty miles north-west of Mainpuri.

The Sayyads succeeded in repulsing the Paṭháns, who fled some distance. Ahmad Khán cursed them and cried out—"Have you brought me here "only to see you run away, to-morrow your wives will be dishonoured and "yourselves stripped naked." Then he drew his knife, intending to sacrifice his life, as he disdained to leave the place alive. Rustam Khán Afrídí and other leading Paṭháns dissuaded him. The Nawáb replied that, since they had come to fight to the death, they must all dismount and precede him on foot, he should then know that they meant to slay or be slain. The Paṭháns consented, and they all dismounted. It is well known that when a horseman dismounts to fight on foot, the case is desperate and he will then neither give nor receive quarter. The Paṭháns made themselves ready by tying the skirts of their heavy plaited coats (*jámah*) round their waists, and taking shield and sword in hand, they advanced to renew the attack. Some of the Sayyads were killed, the rest fled and the battery was cleared. The whole of the Paṭháns thus made their way into the enemy's camp, and penetrated to Naval Ráe's enclosed tents (*surácha*) where the troops were few, the main body being distributed from point to point to guard the batteries. A messenger reported to Naval Ráe that the Paṭháns having driven back the Sayyads had entered the camp. Their weapons were now clashing at his own entrance door. As Naval Ráe never went out without saying his prayers, after hearing the report he sat down to worship, saying, "It is no matter, I will soon seize the whole of these vegetable sellers in "the corner of my bow." The messenger came and made a second report, shouting out disrespectfully, "O you idiot! Here you sit while the Paṭháns "cut down the enclosure to your tent." Thus urged to action Naval Ráe armed himself. Then he sent for and mounted one of the two elephants, which stood at his door day and night caparisoned with cloth of gold *howdahs*. He had two quivers full of arrows attached to his *howdah* and two bows. Putting two arrows at a time into his bow, he sent them at the Paṭháns, calling out "*Már more sáre kunjron ko*" (kill me all these vegetable sellers.) Fighting was still going on when the day broke on Friday morning, the 10th Ramzán. On this side Ahmad Khán was seated up in his *palki*, protected by the Paṭháns with their shields, lest some bullet or arrow should hit him. There were fifty or sixty Kahárs to carry the *palki* and one of them was wounded by a spent ball.

Rustam Khán and Muhammad Khán Afrídi,\* with one thousand horse and four thousand foot, had meanwhile come up to the spot where Naval Ráe was standing in a group of three or four hundred men, with six or seven elephants. They paid little attention to this small group, and advanced in search of Naval Ráe. They had gone only a few paces when a

\* Amad-us-Sa'dat. p. 47, half way down.

Paṭhán of Naval Ráe's escort threw a "*hashpelai*,"\* calling out in Pushtu, "O infidels! where are you going, are you blind, let no one approach, for these are chiefs and leaders." They heard the "*hashpelai*," but did not understand the words. Muhammad Khán's brother, who had lately come from Afghanistan, translated them. Muhammad Khán ordered his men to ride at the group, while the footmen discharged their firelocks. Many of the enemy were disabled but the rest advanced. Then Naval Ráe made use of abusive language, and said, "O you vegetable sellers! I will thrash you, you scamps, step by step out of this country." As he spoke he let fly an arrow which grazed Muhammad Khán's chest. Taking the arrow in his hand, Muhammad Khán said, "O arrow of an impotent man! is this all you can do?" When the other heard this, he fired a second arrow which would have been fatal to Muhammad Khán, had it not struck a youth near him in the neck, so that he fell off his horse. Then a Sayyad of Bárha, Muhammad Saláh, advanced and said, "Máháráj! I do not say the Paṭháns will deceive, it is not necessary to show mercy, let us do all we can against them." He had spoken thus far, when a slave of Muhammad Khán's father fired off his piece, and hit the Sayyad on the forehead so that he expired in his *howdah*. Then one of the Afrídís killed Naval Ráe with a musket shot. After this the Paṭháns advanced and put many to the sword. The elephant driver, on seeing that Naval Ráe was dead, drove the elephant into the Káli; it swam across and bolted with its driver to Kannauj. When the Rájáh's army saw that their leader was killed or wounded and had retreated, they too began to give way. Thousands of horsemen and foot soldiers fled. Those who could swim or were well mounted escaped across the Káli; those who were poorly mounted were drowned. The victory was most unexpected both by the Paṭháns and on Naval Ráe's side.

After the fight but before the kettle-drums had beaten the triumphal march, Muhammad Khán went to the quarters of the money dealers. In a small tent he found several fat bunyas playing at "*chaupar*." On seeing him, they said, "Come in, tell us, are the Paṭháns yet retreating, or are they still where they were?" The poor wretches thought he was one of their side, for they never dreamt of Ahmad Khán having conquered. Muhammad Khán told them that Naval Ráe was dead, far and near Ahmad Khán now ruled, and they had apparently been dreaming to remain in such ignorance. They turned pale when they heard the news. Soon after forty or fifty Paṭháns coming up wished to slay the owners of the tent. The bunyas in their fright said they had boxes of gold coins and rupees, which they would give up to be let go, they had been subjects of Safdar Jang and would

\* Called in Hindi "*alghoza*;" two races use them, Mewátís and Afgháns; they are made out of a piece of cane or bamboo.—'Amád-us-Sa'dat.



be loyal subjects of Ahmad Khán. The Paṭháns proposed to get these boxes first, and then kill the men. This Muhammad Khán forbade. Then plunderers arriving from all sides, Muhammad Khán put the slave who shot Muhammad Saláh with several Afridis in charge, and took the Hindus to his camp. There he reported to Rustam Khán, who sent off three hundred footmen to guard the tent and bring away the boxes, in which there was a large amount of money.

Meanwhile an elephant of Naval Ráe's, with a gilt *howdah* and gold brocade trappings, had been found in the camp. The Paṭháns were about to slay its keeper, when with great presence of mind he drove his elephant up to Ahmad Khán's *pálki*, and making it kneel he congratulated the Nawáb on his victory and requested him to mount. The Paṭháns approved of this idea, and pushed the driver off with the ends of their sticks, thus sparing his life. At the time Ramzani was holding the side of the Nawáb's *pálki* in order to steady it. The Nawáb ordered him to mount the elephant. He obeyed, and though not used to elephants, he managed to drive it off. Plunder of the camp then began, the Nawáb's orders being that elephants, cannons, tents and kettle-drums were his, the rest belonged to the seizer. The amount of plunder was so great, that several men acquired property worth as much as one lakh of rupees (£10,000).

In this battle, besides Naval Ráe and Mír Muhammad Saláh already named, 'Ata-ullah Khán\* and many principal men lost their lives. The author of the "Tabsírat-un-názirín" gives the names of as many as thirty-seven Sayyads and Shekhs of Bilgrám in Audh, who lost their lives on this fatal day.

Nawáb Baqáullah Khán, who had been summoned in great haste, had left Makhanpur, about fourteen miles south of Kannauj, on Thursday the 9th Ramzan (1st August, 1750). That night he was at Kannauj, and next day, the 10th (2nd August, 1750), starting before daybreak, they had arrived within four *kos* of Naval Ráe's camp, when suddenly fugitives began to pour in. Ráe Partáp Singh, who had been wounded, was the first to report fully the disaster. Baqáullah Khán halted for two or three hours, and thinking his force too small for an advance, he retreated on Kannauj in order to remove Rájáh Naval Ráe's women and children. With these, accompanied by the Rájáh's corpse, and such elephants and horses and other property as they could collect, they set out on their retreat. The fugitives from the battle-field followed them, among others Ráe Partáp

\* Son-in-law of Háji Ahmad, the brother of Allah Wardi Khán Mahábat Jang, ruler of Bengal. He had been Faujdár of Bhágulpúr and had held other appointments till having quarrelled with his uncle, he came to Audh.—*J. Scott, Ferishta* II. 343-351. *Seir Mutaqherin*, I. 458.

Singh and Husain 'Ali Khán, who had both been wounded. On the way all that could be removed was carried away from Biṭhúr. On Saturday the 11th (3rd August 1750), they came to Muhsinpur, some five miles west of Cawnpur. Next day they arrived at Jájmau, six or seven miles east of Cawnpur on the Ganges, and on the 14th (6th August, 1750), they were at Kánpur, a place five *kos* from Korá. Thence the late Rájáh's family was sent across the Ganges towards Lakhnau; while Baqáullah Khán took up a defensive position at Korá.

The morning after the victory Nawab Ahmad Khán's army had swollen to sixty thousand men, including the Sábibzádas, the chelas, the men of the Bangash clan, the traders and villagers of all sorts. When the Bamṭelas, who had occupied the fort at Farrukhábád heard the news, they were alarmed and fled to their villages.

After the battle Ahmad Khán sent one of his father's chelas whom he trusted, his name was Bhure Khán, with five hundred matchlockmen, to take possession of Kannauj. His orders were to occupy the fort of Naval Ráe called the Rang Mahal, and to take care of all the property. These instructions were thoroughly carried out. There were hundreds of thousands of rupees in cash, and a very large quantity of grain stored. Rahm Khán, chela, used to say that his father, Diláwar Khán, then very young, visited Kannauj a few days after the battle, and at the commander's invitation he went into the Rang Mahal. There were no people in it, but bags of rupees and gold coins were scattered about. There were gold brocade curtains, the doors and lintels were plated with silver and gold, there was a jewelled bedstead with pillows of velvet, and the basons and covers were of gold studded with jewels. Diláwar Khán lived all his life on the proceeds of the things he carried away with the *qila'dar's* permission, and at his death he left a house and a pot full of gold coins.

Nawáb Ahmad Khán returned to Farrukhábád with great splendour. Sending for the Bibi Šáhiba, his step mother, from Mau, he presented her with offerings. He sent out his parties to occupy posts (*thánas*) in all the thirty-three maháls, and removed from Kannauj the whole of the property he had confiscated.

A local poet, Bhabuti Bhát of 'Ataipur, parganah Kaimganj, produced the following ode on the occasion, for which the Nawáb gave him a village in *nánkár*.

'Ajab wuh Sáhíb-i-kudrat hai, jin-ne jag sambará hai,  
 Khudá hai, pák-maula hai, wuhi parwardigará hai;  
 Khařá bandah, kamr kas-kar, ghaním upar liye lashkar  
 Lagi uskí 'ajab chakkar, gharúri ká khamará hai,  
 Naval se mard gházi ko na puchhí bát páji ko,  
 Naval se mard gházi ko pahunch, golí se mára hai,

Naval haudah se mukh morá, kahín háthi, kahín ghorá ;  
 Kabáíl bhi kahín chhorá na sar cherá sambhárá hai,  
 Chalen topán dharádhar se, rahklí bhi parápar se,  
 Shutr-nálen tarátar se, tahavvar ká pahárá hai,  
 Chalen tíren sans-sans, chalí golí manan man man,  
 Kaṭen bakr jhanan jhan jhan, parí talwár dhára hai,  
 Bhabuti nám hai merá, 'Aṭaipur men derá hai  
 Yíhi hai mo-ká-kherá, tale Gangá kinára hai.

*Advance of the Wazír.*

Shortly after the first rising of the Patháns, word had been brought of it to the Wazír at Delhi. On the 12th Sha'ban 1163 H (6th July, 1750), he marched out of Delhi and crossing the Jumna began his preparations. On the 27th and 28th Sha'ban (21st and 22nd July, 1750), he despatched troops under Nasír-ud-din Haidar to reinforce Naval Ráe. On the last day of the month, a Tuesday (23rd July, 1750), he returned to Delhi and a second time took leave of the Emperor. He then marched with a large force of his own troops, some thirty thousand men under Suraj Mall Ját of Bhartpur, whom he had taken into his pay, and contingents under Nawáb Najm-ud-daula Muhammad Ishák Khán, Darogha of the Nazúl,\* Sher Jang,† Mir Nasír-ud-din Haidar,‡ Mirza Muhammad Ali Khán Kochak, and Mirza Najaf Beg.§ Ismá'il Beg Khán, chela, 'Ise Beg Khán

\* His sister, in her old age so well known as the Bháo Begam of Faizábád, was married to Shuja-ud-daula, Safdar Jang's son. Najm-ud-daula, whose name was Mirza Muhammad, was the eldest son of Muhammad Ishák Khán Mútaman-ud-daula (died 2nd Safar 1154 H.—3th April, 1741).

† Sayyad Násir Muhammad Khán, son of Sayúdat Khán, the brother of Sa'dat Khán, Burhán-ul-Mulk.

‡ He and Safdar Jang had married two sisters, the daughters of Sa'dat Khán, Burhán-ul-Mulk. He was the son of Safdar Jang's maternal aunt.

§ This is the man who afterwards played such a prominent part at the Court of Delhi from 1771 till his death on the 22nd April, 1782. He left Shujá'-ud-daula's service after the assassination of Muhammad Kuli Khán, Naib of Allahábád.

His descent and family connections are shown in the subjoined table—

Najaf Khán

m. daughter of Sháh Sulaiman.

|  
 Mír Saíd Muhammad.

|  
 Mír Saíd Ali.

|  
 —————  
 |  
 m. Fátima Begam, full sister  
 to N. Muhammad Kuli Khán and  
 daughter of 'Izzat-ud-daula Mir-  
 za Muhsin, elder brother of Saf-  
 dar Jang.

|  
 —————  
 |  
 Mirza Najaf  
 Khán. ó. at  
 Isfahán.

|  
 —————  
 |  
 Daughter  
 m. to Mirza Muhsin,  
 brother of Safdar Jang.

chela,\* Agá Muhammad Bákir Yarmani,† Mirza Mashadi Beg and Mir Na'im Khán.

After they had, in three or four days' time, reached two stages from Delhi, the defeat of Naval Ráe was reported. The Wazír flew into a great rage and cursed that vain-glorious drunkard for not having awaited the reinforcements, when it would not have been possible for those peasants, the Paṭháns, to have wrested a victory. Saying this he struck his hands in despair on the cushion on which he was seated, and then exhausted, dropping his head upon the pillow, he fell into extreme perplexity. Meanwhile Ismá'il Beg Khán who had been sent to reinforce Naval Ráe, having reached Mainpuri, heard from his spies of the death of Naval Ráe, and retreating at once rejoined the Wazír's main army, which was encamped near the town of Márahra.‡

#### *Execution of the Five Princes.*

When the Wazír raised his head from his pillow, he called for a secretary, and directed him to write to the Shekh in command at the Allahábád fort, directing him on receipt of the order to put to death with every indignity the five sons of Nawáb Muhammad Khán Ghazanfar Jang who were in his custody. Another order was sent to the Wazír's son, Jalál-ud-din Haidar (afterwards known as Shuja'-ud-daula), then at Delhi, telling him to decapitate the five chelas, sending their heads to the Wazír.

According to the Wazír's orders, the stony-hearted Shekh, forgetting God and God's prophet, took with him several misbegotten wretches and went to the prisoners. When these beheld their murderers, Nawáb Imám Khán said to the Shekh—"O Shekh! after the death of Káim Khán I "was raised to the *masnad*, to kill me is your duty, but these four brothers "of mine are quite innocent, you should postpone their death till the "Wazír's order can be repeated." The Shekh turned a deaf ear to this

\* There is a Shuja' Kuli Khán *alias* Miyan 'Ise, a chela, mentioned in the "Tabsirát-un-názirín" (year 1177), and in the 'Amád-us-Sa'dat (p. 88), who may be the same as this man.

† The Tabsirát-un-názirín (year 1177), names a Mír Bákir Yamani as one of Shuja'-ud-daula's leaders in the Bengal campaign of 1764.

‡ Gaz. N. W. P. 155. It lies 12 miles north of the head-quarters of the Eta district. The lithographed editions of both the "Siyar-ul-Mutákharrín, p. 875, and the Khizána 'Amira" p. 80, give distinctly the name Márahra as the town plundered by the Wazír's troops on the 18th Ramzán (10th August, 1750). But Elphinstone, p. 650 (fourth edition) says it was the town of Bárha, which might be treated as a misreading, had not Elliot, in his Supplemental Glossary (Roorkee reprint, 1860, p. 110), also stated that it was the town of Bárha which was sacked by Sa'idar Jang's men. I believe Márahra, however, to be correct.

request. The executioners advanced towards the prisoners, and the Nawábs competed with each other as to who should first offer up his life. When all five had been slaughtered, the bodies were buried within the fort, and it was believed that the vows were granted of any one who offered a prayer at their tomb.\*

*Execution of the Five Chelas.*

The Wazír's order to put the five chelas to death reached Jalál-ud-din Haidar, the Wazír's son (afterwards known as Shuja'-ud-daula); and on the 20th Ramzan (12th August, 1750), he directed their jailor, Zain-ul-'Abidain, to bring them forth. He went to their prison with a *palki* and called out—"O Shamsheer Khán! to-night the Wazír has ordered your quarters to be changed, and I have brought a *palki* to carry you." The Khán replied that he knew the place to which he would be taken, and requested that the other four might go first, leaving him the time for washing the corpse and for the funeral prayers. Zain-ul-'Abidain had a great affection for him, but was unable to show it. As requested he took away the other four chelas in the *palki*. When they reached the place of execution, an order to despatch them having been given, the executioner forthwith separated their heads from their bodies.

Meanwhile Shamsheer Khán bathed, put on new clothes, rubbed them with scent, and having said the burial prayers for his own death, commenced a recitation of the Kúrán. Then Zain-ul-'Abidain returned with the *palki* and said "O Shamsheer Khán! arise and enter the *palki*." Placing his Kúrán in its cover, he presented it to Zain-ul-'Abidain, and gave him fifty gold coins to be presented for the table of Murtazza Ali through the hands of some Sayyad. He put aside his shoes as a gift to any one going barefooted. He made over his signet ring to his attendant, telling him to deliver it to Hasan Ali Khán, his son; and his own rosary, with a *fírán* to hang round a child's neck, were for Sher 'Ali Khán. Then barefooted he set out towards the place of execution. Zain-ul-'Abidain urged him to get into the *palki*, but he refused, saying, that though many of his slaves had risen to ride in *palkis* or on elephants, all earthly ambition for him was now over.

As he reached the place of execution, seeing the dead bodies of his fellow chelas, he exclaimed, "Brothers! I will soon follow you." Jalál-ud-

\* The author of the "Amád-us-Sa'dat" (p. 45) pretends to throw doubt on the above story, but Hisám-ud-dín says he had it from Sayyad Piyári of Gwáliyár, who was living in Allahábád at the time. The more popular version is that the five Sahibzádas were built up alive into one of the walls of the fort.

din Haidar on seeing him, said, “Shamsher Khán, where is now your sword”? In reply he recited these verses—

Hamán sher o shamsher-i-burrán man-am ;  
 Cha sázam, kih kabza na dárad sar-am,  
 Wagarna turá Khán o mánat harís  
 Ba-yak-dam tah-i-khák kardam 'adam.

Having heard this answer, the prince said to the executioner “Behead him.” The executioner made a stroke but missed; and again a second time he missed. Turning to a Mughul standing by, Jalál-ud-din Haidar told him to finish the affair. The Mughul hesitated, but at length drawing, he made a cut at the neck and severed the head from the body at one blow. Still reciting the words of martyrdom, the corpse moved ten paces towards the Ka'ba and then stood still, the fingers of both hands continuing to count as before the beads of his rosary. The Mughul was amazed, and approaching the corpse, placed his two hands on its back, saying, “O Khán Sáhíb! “you are a martyr.” On these words being pronounced, the corpse turned to him and knelt. Then the Mughul began to weep and wail, saying, “O Jalál-ud-dín, the accursed! I knew not that this man was the greatest “saint of the age, unjustly have you murdered by my hand this man with-“out guile.” Then striking his sword on a stone with such force that he broke it, and rending his clothes, he fled into desert places.

The prince then caused the five bodies to be thrown into a well, and filled it up with stones. Next morning by the power of the Almighty there were found strewn on that well five fresh *Chambeli* flowers. Every day they were replaced by other fresh flowers. At the time that Ahmad Khán Durrání came to Delhi (1761), Nawáb Ahmad Khán went there accompanied by 'Umr 'Ali Khán, son of the martyred Shamsher Khán. One day his father appeared to him, and said—“It is now twelve years since I fell “into a well here, take out my corpse and send it to Farrukhábád, there “inter it in the mosque beneath the *Jáman* tree.” 'Umr 'Ali Khán got up crying bitterly, for at that time he was much hampered for money. He could hit upon no plan to procure funds. A few minutes afterwards, through the wisdom of the Causer of Causes, a money-lender, a friend of his, came up and asked why he wept. He repeated the dream, and that good man lent him five hundred rupees. Stone masons were set to work at the well, and when the corpse was taken up, the clothes looked quite whole, but were in reality all worn and fell to pieces. The body was put into a coffin and sent to Farrukhábád, where it was buried in the mosque beneath the *jáman* tree. The following verse gives the year of Shamsher Khán's death—

Tárikh ba-guft hátif-i-ghaibe kih “*núzdah Ramzán.*” 1163 H.

*Defeat of the Wazír.*

After having remained a month encamped at Márahra, the Wazír advanced eastwards and entrenched himself near a place called Rám Chatauni, seven miles east of Saháwar and five miles west of Patiáli.\* Suraj Mall with his troops was on the Wazír's right wing nearest the van, and Ismá'il Beg Khán commanded on Suraj Mall's left.

On his side Ahmad Khán had sent urgent requests for assistance to the Paṭháns of Sháhjahánpúr, Tilhar,† Bareli, Anwalah‡ and Jaunpúr, in which last place some friends of his were settled. Ahmad Khán then marched westwards with Rustam Khán Afrídí, who at that time had the chief direction of his affairs. The Nawáb proposed to Rustam Khán that, as both the Wazír and Suraj Mall were coming against them, they should divide their forces; and he offered to Rustam Khán the choice of attack. Rustam Khán replied that Nawáb should fight with Nawáb and simple soldier with simple soldier, he therefore chose Suraj Mall as his antagonist.

Early in the morning of the 22nd Shawál 1163 H. (13th September, 1750), the attack began by the advance of the detachment of Ismá'il Khán, chela, and of Suraj Mall Ját with fifty thousand men against Rustam Khán Afrídí. On his left was an eminence, the site of a deserted village.§ Ismá'il Khán and Suraj Mall occupied the foot of this height, and planted several guns on the top of it, the fire of which commanded the camp of Rustam Khán. He went off to the Nawáb and asked for orders to attack. Ahmad Khán wished the battle postponed, but Rustam Khán pointed out that delay was impossible, and the enemy being in force he must meet them. He got into his *pálki* and returned to his men, whom he drew out at once in order of battle.

When the order to advance was given, the Paṭháns by one rush carried the height, sword in hand, and captured the guns. Rustam Khán then discovered at a little distance a large force drawn out in battle array. He directed the attack to be continued. It was Suraj Mall's contingent under his immediate command. Suraj Mall called to his men, "You must not

\* Rám Chatauni is not marked on any map to which I have access, but I believe it lies within Taluka Mohanpur. There is a well there which is believed to have existed from the time of the Vedas, and once a year thousands of Hindus assemble there to bathe.

† About 12 miles N. W. of Sháhjahánpúr.

‡ Fifteen miles S. W. of Bareli and in the Bareli district.

§ The authors of the "Lauḥ" say that the final struggle with Rustam Khán took place at Atranji Khera (see Gaz. N. W. P. IV, III.) But as it is 14 miles off as the crow flies from Rám Chatauni, and on the opposite or right bank of the Káli Nadi, I think they must be wrong.

“fight these Patháns with the sword, at which they are expert, let fly your arrows and discharge your firelocks.” Saying this he withdrew to consult Ismá’il Beg Khán and Rájáh Himmat Singh Bhadauriya,\* who were stationed to the rear by way of reserve. They also were of opinion that the Patháns should not be allowed to come to close quarters, but that they should all three join to enclose them on left and right. They then advanced against Rustam Khán in a semicircular form, something like the shape of a bow.

They began their attack by artillery fire, discharge of matchlocks, and flights of arrows. Rustam Khán, who was brave as his name, got out of his *pálki* and joined his Patháns, with his bow in his hand. His arrows shot down several of the enemy. Then grasping his sword he advanced followed by his men, who had all dismounted. They despatched a number of the enemy, nor did they fail in any effort to win the day. They were, however, outnumbered, and Rustam Khán was slain with six or seven thousand Patháns. Suraj Mall and his companions pursued the remainder a long way in the direction of ‘Aliganj, which is twenty-four miles south-east of the battle field.

Meanwhile, some *kos* to the right of Rustam Khán, Nawáb Ahmad Khán was engaged in contest with the Wazír. A messenger came and whispered to him that Rustam Khán had been defeated and slain. Allowing no sign of fear to betray itself, he turned with calmness to his leaders and cried with a loud voice :—“Rustam Khán has gained the day and has made prisoners of Suraj Mall Ját, Ismá’il Beg and Rájáh Himmat Singh,

\* Himmat Singh Bhadauriya, son of Gopál Singh, succeeded his father on Jeth S. 2nd Sambat 1800, (1743 A. D.) He died on Jeth B. 5th Sambat 1812, (1755 A. D.) His principal forts were Báh and Pináhat in the Agra district, Ater on the right bank of the Chambal, and Bhind some sixteen miles beyond it to the south-east. The two latter places are now in the Gwáliyár State. The family residences are now at Kachora and Nauganw, both on the Jamna in the Báh Pináhat parganah of the Agra district. The Rájáh’s *diwán* gives the following genealogy :

Himmat Singh (son of Gopál Singh).

|  
Bakht Singh.

|  
Partáp Singh (adopted son)

|  
Sarnet Singh.

|  
Mahindar Singh (adopted son)

(present Rájáh).

The Bhadauryas are said to be a branch of the Chauhans (Elliot, Supp. Glossary art. BHUDOURIA, p. 75.)



“ he will win the palm for bravery from us, let us advance and make a like brave fight ; we have the Wazír to meet, and if we prevail our name will be great, if we fail, not one of us will be able to look a stranger in the face.” The leaders replied that, by the favour of God Most High and the Nawáb’s good fortune, they would soon show what they could do. Hearing these words repeated by the whole army, the Nawáb directed them to offer up a prayer. Raising up the right hand, they all called upon God for his blessing and made over their lives to his care. Then rank by rank they turned upon the foe.

When the two armies met in line, Nasír-ud-dín Haidar, who was posted in advance on the enemy’s side with several thousand men, attempted to open an artillery fire. The advance of the Patháns was, however, so rapid that little or no execution was done. When they came close, Mustáffa Khán Mataniya, who was famous among all the Patháns for his prowess in single combat, challenged the leaders on the other side. Nasír-ud-dín Haidar came forth to meet him. Drawing their swords, they began to fight ; both fell from their horses, owing to the number of their wounds, and both expired upon the spot. The enemy, seeing that Nasír-ud-dín Haidar was dead, gave up hope, turned, and fled. At this moment Nawáb Ahmad Khán came up to where Nasír-ud-dín Haidar and Mustáffa Khán’s dead bodies were lying.

The want of success in the Wazír’s vanguard is attributed to the defection of Kámgar Khán Biloch, faujdár of the environs of Delhi. Acting, as it is asserted, in collusion with Ahmad Khán, he made no resistance but turned and fled. When the Wazír perceived that his men were giving way, he hurried off Muhammad ’Ali Khán Risáldár and Núr-ul-Hasan Khán Jamá’dár, Bilgrámi,\* with his brothers, and ’Abd-un-nabi Khán, chela of Muhammad Ali Khán, with orders to re-inforce the front. Since, however, the panic of the Mughuls had become general, the efforts of the newly arrived troops were fruitless. Muhammad ’Ali Khán then turned away to their left wing, where three thousand foot were drawn up, with some horsemen behind them. When the Patháns came to close quarters, Núr-ul-Hasan and his brothers began using their bows, and the matchlockmen under ’Abd-un-nabi Khán fired off their pieces. They picked off many of the Patháns, who were thrown into slight confusion, but soon recovered themselves. Their advance continued, Muhammad ’Ali Khán was wounded by a bullet on the right hand, and Núr-ul-Hasan Khán’s elephant received five

\* Núr-ul-Hasan Khán was still alive in 1181 H. (May, 1767-1768), and serving near Arrah in Bengal, see *Tabsirat-un-Názirín* under that year.

sword cuts. In this encounter were slain Mír Ghulám Nabi and Mír 'Azím-ud-din, Sayyads of Bilgrám.\*

As soon as Nawáb Ahmad Khán reached the field of battle, the Mughuls discharged their artillery, great and small, loaded with spikes (*gokhrú*) and broken iron instead of balls. From the noise the earth trembled but the execution done was small. No one was wounded except Parmúl Khán, who lost the skin of one finger. From the spreading of the smoke the sky was obscured and for a time it was quite dark.†

Nawáb Ahmad Khán waited a few moments till the smoke had subsided, when he made a rapid advance through some *dhák* jungle upon the Wazír's entrenchment. The horsemen having dismounted drew their swords and preceded the Nawáb. By voice and by signs with his bow, he urged on the kahárs to carry his *pálki* speedily into the midst of the enemy. When the Patháns got near the guns, they fired their matchlocks and drove off the artillery-men, and the chains protecting the camp they cut with their swords or with axes. They now had got near to where the Wazír stood with a large force, and the Patháns began the attack on him with a discharge of musketry and arrows. The Nawáb at the head of the reserve came up and joined them. With his own hand he discharged his arrows, aiming at the Wazír, and the Patháns so exerted themselves with their swords that there was a general slaughter, and corpse fell upon corpse. At this moment a Pathán from Tilhar‡ in Rohilkhand came up towards the rear of the Wazír's position, and finding an action going on, sent a camel rider for orders. He was told to make his way towards the canopied *howdah* in which sat the Wazír; and the troops being few in that direction, where no attack was expected, the Tilhar Pathán, with his three hundred men, forced their way close to the Wazír and discharged their matchlocks.

The Wazír's elephant-driver was shot and fell to the ground; his companion in the hind seat, Mirzá 'Ali Naqi, tutor of Shujá'-ud-daula, the Wazír's son, was wounded; and the Wazír himself received a grazing wound

\* The *Miftáh-ut-tawárikh*, pp. 497, 498, gives poetical *tarikhs* by Mír Ghulám 'Ali 'Azád, who also mentions them in the "*Sarv-i-Azád*." The father of the author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutákharrin* would seem to have been present in this battle. S-ul-M. p. 877, seventh line from bottom.

† The *Khizána 'Amira*, p. 81, says nearly all the artillery had been sent away with the van, but this does not seem quite borne out. At any rate this smoke from the artillery seems to be the explanation of the dust storm usually pleaded as a screen for the Wazír's defeat, see Life of Hafiz Rahmat Khán, p. 38, Hamilton's *Rohilla Afghans*, p. 103. First, a dust storm does not come in September, secondly, it would come from the West and would blow into the Pathán's faces, and so far be favourable to the Wazír, who faced to the east not to the west.

‡ In the Sháhjahánpúr district.

on the neck, under the right jaw, from which he swooned and sank down in the *howdah*. His *howdah* was made of strong metal plates, and it was so high that when seated the head only appeared above the side, he was thus protected from further wounds. The Patháns, thinking the *howdah* empty and the elephant ownerless, passed on in pursuit of the Mughuls, who had by this time taken to flight; only Muhammad 'Ali Khán and Núr-ul-Hasan retained their formation, and rejoining the Wazír they asked for orders. He directed a triumphal march to be beaten by the drums, but except some two hundred men, not a soul rallied to his support. Night now approaching, Jagat Náráyan, brother of Lachmi Náráyan, took the place on the elephant of the dead *mahaut*; and the Wazír reluctantly withdrew from the field towards Márahra.

Soon after his withdrawal, Suraj Mall Ját, Ismá'il Beg and Rájáh Himmat Singh, having completed the defeat and dispersion of Rustam Khán Afrídí's troops, were returning with exultation to rejoin the Wazír. Nawáb Ahmad Khán with only a few men was in occupation of the Wazír's camp. When he saw this large force advancing, he became very anxious and turned his face to the Great Helper and prayed, saying, "O God! pre-serve this sinful slave from calamity." It was not long before the three leaders received reports of the repulse of the Wazír. Their joy being changed into fear and trembling, they turned and marched off towards Delhi, and Nawáb Ahmad Khán offered up thanks to heaven. Meanwhile those who had pursued the Wazír's retreating troops, had come up on the road with Nawáb Ishák Khán, who cried out boldly, "I am 'Abd-ul-Mansúr Khán." Believing his words, the Patháns surrounded the elephant, and seizing the Nawáb, cut off his head. They brought it and threw it at the feet of Nawáb Ahmad Khán, saying, "Here is the head of the Wazír." Looking at it the Nawáb saw it was the head of Ishák Khán, not that of the Wazír.

The night after the battle was spent by the Wazír at Márahra, twenty-one miles west of the field, and there his wound was dressed. On the 29th Shawál (20th September, 1750), he re-entered Delhi and repaired secretly to his house. Through the intrigues of the Emperor's favourite, Jáwed Khán, it had been already proposed to confiscate Safdar Jang's estate and to appoint in his place Intizám-ud-daula, Khán Khánán, a son of the late Wazír, Kamr-ud-dín Khán 'Itimád-ud-daula. On hearing of the defeat and disgrace of Safdar Jang, the Emperor consulted Gházi-ud-dín Khán, Fírúz Jang, son of Nizám-ul-mulk, as to what should be done if Ahmad Khán advanced to Delhi. After obtaining permission to speak his mind freely, Fírúz Jang stated the case at great length, dwelling on the good services of the Bangash family and the treachery they had met with from the

Wazír. He concluded by desiring the Emperor to decide who, in justice, was in fault. The Emperor admitted that what Fírúz Jang said was true, that Muhammad Khán Ghazanfar Jang and his family had done the throne no wrong, that Safdar Jang's conduct could not be defended. But if Ahmad Khán followed up his advantage and pursued Safdar Jang to Delhi, what should be done? Fírúz Jang proposed sending a *farmán*, with a robe of honour, elephant, horse and sword to Ahmad Khán, at the same time stating that what had been done had not been done with the Emperor's consent. Safdar Jang had no more than reaped the fruit of his own ill-deeds, but Ahmad Khán, if he were a loyal subject should, instead of advancing further towards Delhi, return to Farrukhábád. This advice approved itself to the Emperor, a *farmán* and robe of honour were sent, and on receiving them, Ahmad Khán turned and went back to Farrukhábád.

Shádíl Khán, brother's son of Shuj'at Khán Ghilzai,\* was left with some ten thousand men under subordinate leaders, in charge of that part of the country, it having been formerly under his uncle, Shuja't Khán.† Nawáb Ahmad Khán himself then returned to his home at Farrukhábád. For the due administration of the recovered territory, he appointed his brothers and relations to be governors of various places. Nawáb Murtazza Khán, fourth son of Muhammad Khán, was sent to Itáwah; Mansúr 'Ali Khán, thirteenth son, to Phaphond, including the jágír maháls of Saurikh, Sakatpur, Sakráwah, and Sauj; 'Azim Khán, twenty-first son, to Shikohábád, including Sakít, Kuráoli and 'Alipur Khera; Nawáz Khán Khaṭak to Akbarpur-Sháhpur; Zu'l-fikár Khán, chela, *alias* the Majhle Nawáb, to Shamshábád and Chibramau, including Sikandarpur, Bhonganw and Birwar (or Bewar); Manavar Khán, eighteenth son, to Páli and Sánḍi; and Khudá Bandah Khán, twelfth son, was made Faujdár of Bilgrám. Nawáb Mahmúd Khán, eldest son of Nawáb Ahmad Khán, with Jahán Khán, an old chela of the family, at the head of ten thousand horse and a large force of infantry, was deputed to take possession of Lakhnau and the Súbah of Audh.‡ At the same time Shádí Khán, the sixteenth son, with the assistance of Káli Khán son of Shamsheer Khán, chela, was ordered to advance to Korah—Jahánábád, in the Súbah of Allahábád; and Muhammad Amír Khán, nineteenth son, was sent to occupy Ghazipur. The Rohelas on their side§ sent Shekh Kabir, Par-

\* See p. 383, Vol. XLVII, 1878.

† Gaz. N. W. P. IV, 158, Shuja't Khán built at Márahra the tomb of Sháh Barakat-ullah in 1142 H. (July 1729—July 1730).

‡ The *Khizána 'Amira*, p. 83, must either be wrong in the date (Jamádi I, 1164 H.) given for Mahmúd Khán's passing through Bilgrám, or else it must refer to something which happened on the retreat from Allahábád to Farrukhábád, which did take place about Jamádi I, 1164. It is absurd to suppose that Aúdh was not occupied till six or seven months after the victory of Rám Chatauni.

§ Life H. R. K., p. 39.

múl Khán, and other leaders with their respective contingents to Sháhábád and Khairábád, of which parganahs they took quiet possession. The death and defeat of Naval Ráe had thrown the greater part of the Allahábád Subah into confusion; Rúp Singh Khichar, who held parganah Karáli (now in the Allahábád district), Sumer Singh, son of Hindú Singh Chandela, and Ganshám Singh Raghbansi, all old friends of the Paṭháns, entered into a league with the Mahrattas, and as they had done the year before, wished to call them across the river.

By the month of Zíl-ka'd (Sept.—Oct. 1750), the Paṭháns had put a *thana* in Malihábád, 15 miles west of Lakhnau, had raised a disturbance in Sándi, (in the Hardoi district) had invested Amethí (in the Sultánpur district), and with a large force were threatening Dálmau, on the Ganges, and Ráe Bareli itself.

It is reported that after the victory Nawáb Ahmad Khán used often to say to the BÍbí Sáhíba—"God the Almighty has granted me a double triumph, for I have not only defeated 'Abd-ul-Mansúr Khán, but I am rid of Rustam Khán Afrídí, who had a claim to half my territory." The Nawáb referred to the compact made before the attack on Naval Ráe, by which Rustam Khán had stipulated for half the *nawábi* in return for the money then advanced.

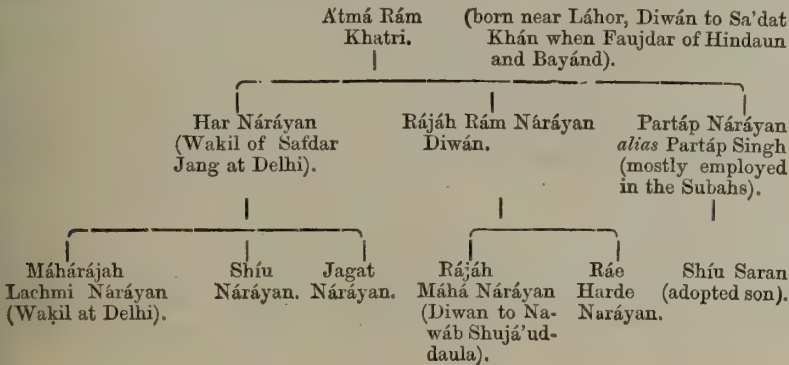
*Siege of Allahábád Fort.*

(September, 1750—April, 1751.)

Nawáb Ahmad Khán after having made all his arrangements went in person to Kannauj. Hearing of his approach Nawáb Baqá-ullah Khán, Khán 'Alam, Amír Kháni\* and Ráe Partáp Náráyan,† officers in the Wazír's

\* He was the son of Marahmat Khán, son of Amír Khán 'Alamgírí, his uncle being the well known Amír Khán 'Umdat-ul-Mulk, whom we mentioned at p. 338, Vol. XLVII, 1878.

† The family tree of this family is given, thus in the *Amád us-Sa'dat*, p. 56. copying from the *Hadikat-ul-Akálím*.



service, who at the head of nine hundred or a thousand men had arrived as far as Kannauj on their way to join their master, retreated by way of Lakhnau to Jhúsi. Then 'Ali Kuli Khán Karkhi, the deputy in the Allahábád Subah, came out to meet them.\* There they heard that Shádi Khán was marching down country at the head of twenty thousand men. 'Ali Quli Khán with his own troops and part of those of Ráe Partáp Náráyan advanced to oppose Shádi Khán. The two armies met each other at Korá-Jahánábád† where a battle ensued, and Shádi Khán having been defeated began to retreat.

When this news was brought to Nawáb Ahmad Khán, he proposed to send large reinforcements, but his chief counsellors overruled him, and advised his proceeding in person, hoping that the fort of Allahábád would be evacuated at his approach. Nawáb Baqá-ullah Khán and 'Ali Quli Khán, hearing of Ahmad Khán's advance, beat a rapid retreat, and took refuge in the fort of Allahábád. Ahmad Khán when he had reached Korá halted several days, and intended to return home himself, leaving the fighting to Mansúr 'Ali Khán,‡ Rustam Khán Bangash, and Sa'dat Khán Afrídí, brother of Mahmúd Khán, Bakhshi to Nawáb Káim Khán, these three leaders having a large force in their pay. But he was persuaded to go on by the arrival of wakíls from the eastern Rájáhs, Pirthipat, son of Chattardhári, son of Jí Sukh, Sombansi, ruler of Partábgarh,§ and Rájáh Balwant Singh of Banáras. The agents were introduced through Mustajáb Khán Warakzai and Háji Safaráz Khán, who were then in attendance. The letters were to the effect that if the Nawáb would continue his advance to Allahábád, they undertook to obtain the fort for him in a very short time, after that the whole of the eastern country would fall into his power. After receiving these letters the Nawáb went on towards Allahábád, and

\* The Khizána Amira, p. 83, distinguishes this 'Ali Quli Khán from 'Ali Quli Khán Dághistani, poetically Wálih, but the local historians, Wali-ullah and the "Lauh" make them one and the same. Mir Ghulam 'Ali is the most likely to be right, as he was acquainted personally with the poet Wálih, Hisám-ud-din calls this man simply the "Allahábádí," and the "Siyar-ul-Mutákharrín," p. 879, says he had been in the service of Sayyad Muhammad Khán, náib of the Allahábád Subah on the part of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Amír Khán. Káli Ráe in the *Fatehgarh-náma* (p. 54,) refers to the author of a book called the *Hafz Akálím*, who states that he was present in this retreat from Lakhnau. The reference is, I now find, to the *Hadikat-ul-Akálím*.

† On the Grand Trunk Road, some thirty-four miles north-west of the town of Fathpur.

‡ Thirteenth son of N. Muhammad Khán.

§ Or as Hisám-ud-dín says, Azingarh. Partábgarh lies thirty-two miles north of Allahábád. There is a capital account of the family in the *Hadikat-ul-Akálím* under the head, *Partabgarh* in the Second Clime.

Rájáh Pirthipat, marching from Partábgarh, brought his army to the edge of the Ganges, where he encamped. On the Nawáb's arrival he crossed the river and paid him a visit, when he was presented with a *khila't* and at his own request he was posted to the vanguard.

Reaching Allahábád the Nawáb appears to have crossed over to Jhúsi on the other or left bank of the Ganges, where he planted his guns on the high ground known as the fort of Rájáh Harbong.\* The whole of Allahábád from Khuldábád up to the fort was burnt down and plundered, and four thousand women and children were made prisoners. Nothing was spared but the abode of Shekh Muhammad Afzal Allahábádí and the quarter of Daryábád which was entirely occupied by Patháns.†

The defence of the fort on the part of the Wazír was conducted by Baqá-ullah Khán and 'Ali Kúli Khán, Zárjí. By chance one Indargir Sunyási‡ had come there on a pilgrimage with five thousand naked fighting *fakirs*, who lay between the old city and the fort. These took the side of the Wazír's people. Baqá-ullah Khán, who was an able man and experienced in war, threw a bridge over the river between the Beni (properly Tribeni) gate of the fort and the town of Aráil, which is on the right bank of the Ganges just below its junction with the Jumna. He left his camp standing in that town, while morning and evening he marched his troops to and from the fort. All day an artillery fire was kept up from the walls upon the troops of Nawáb Ahmad Khán. On his side the leaders, Rájáh Pirthipat and others, made every effort to carry the fort but without success.

At this time Rájáh Bálwant Singh, who had been directed to appear in person, arrived at Jhúsi.§ He was introduced through the Nawáb's son

\* Elliot's Supplemental Glossary, p. 466, "Harbong ká ráj."

† Khizána 'Amira, p. 83.

‡ Rájáh Indar Gír was a Sunyási from Jhánsi in Bundelkhand. He had seized parganah Moth (in the Jhansi district) in 1745, and building a fort there soon acquired possession of 114 villages. About 1749-50 he was ejected from Moth by a force under Narú Shankar, the Mahratta *Subah*, and he then found his way to Allahábád. (Jenkinson's Jhansi Report, pp. 172 and 173). After the raising of this siege, he was introduced to the Wazír by Baqá-ullah Khán, and accepted service on two conditions (1) that he might beat his kettle-drums when in the Wazír's retinue, (2) that in audience he should not be obliged to put his hand to his head. He took part in the Rohilkhand campaign and was killed in Rajab 1165 H. (4th May 1752—2nd June 1752), in the fighting between Safdar Jang and 'Amád-ul-Mulk. The "Life of Háfiz Rahmat Khán," p. 49, says Najíb Khán killed him with his own hand. In the year 1762 we shall come across his chelas and successors, Anúp Gír Himmat Bahádúr and his brother Umráo Gír.

§ At Jhúsi is the tomb of Sháh Muhammad Taqí, a descendant of Hazrat Ghaus-ul-islám, Miran Hamíd-ud-din, Muhammad Ghaus, Gwáliyári.

Mahmúd Khán, who not long before had arrived from Lakhnau. The Rájáh made a present of one lakh of rupees and received a *khila't* with a confirmation of half his territory, the other half being put under Sáhib Zamán Khán, Dilázák of Jaunpur, cousin to one of the Nawáb's wives.\* Nawáb Ahmad Khán told the Rájáh to cross over to Arául with Mahmúd Khán, and encamp there after driving away Baqá-ullah Khán's men, in order to put an end to the passage to and fro of troops to the fort, and to interrupt the arrival of supplies. The Rájáh agreed to the proposal and returning to his camp at Jhúsi he sent in all directions for boats.

When their spies reported this to Baqá-ullah Khán and the other leaders of the enemy, they began to consult how they could prevent the danger of an attack from two sides. They decided that the next day they would fight the army in front of them. Accordingly Baqá-ullah Khán came across the bridge with a large force and the troops coming out of the fort joined him. Indargír Sunyási also receiving orders to join, advanced beyond the shelter of the fort and drew up in battle array from the Ganges bank to a point between the old city and the fort.

As soon as he heard this, Nawáb Ahmad Khán mounted and advanced to the edge of his camp. Thence he deputed Nawáb Mansúr Ali Khán† and Nawab Shádi Khán‡ to take the command, and they at once commenced an advance. Besides their own men they had with them 10,000 men commanded by Rustam Khán Bangash, 4000 under Sa'dat Khán Afrídí, 2000 under Mangal Khán, 3000 *Yakka* (men riding their own horses) under Muhammad 'Ali Khán Afrídí and 2000 under 'Abd-ur-rasúl Khán, chela. There were besides other leaders such as Námdár Khán, the brother of Nawáb Ghairat Khán, Núr Khán, son of Khalíl Khán Mataniya, Námdár Khán, brother of Himmat Khán Mataniya, and 'Abdullah Khán Warakzai. The Nawáb ordered all these leaders to advance with their men and drive back the enemy. To Rájáh Pirthipat he said—"The van is yours, repair to your post."

The Rájáh then headed the attack and the battle began. For three hours cannon, rockets and muskets never ceased their uproar. At length Rájáh Pirthipat, who was in front, got the advantage and made his way up to the enemy's ranks. Seeing this, Mansúr 'Ali Khán and the other leaders advanced rapidly to his support. The Rájáh dismounted from his elephant and got upon his horse. His companions then left their horses and drawing their swords rushed at the enemy. On reaching the spot,

\* The *Balwant Náma* of Khair-uddin Muhammad, translated by F. Curwen, Allahábád, 1875, pp. 25-29.

† Thirteenth son of N. Muhammad Khán.

‡ Sixteenth son of N. Muhammad Khán.



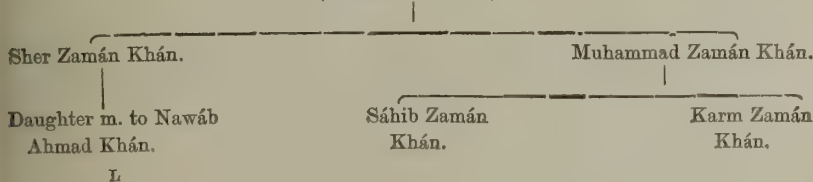
Mansúr 'Ali Khán got down from his elephant, and went forward in front of the Rájáh. The best of Baká-ullah Khán's men were slain or wounded ; and Nawáb Baká-ullah Khán, seeing that the day was lost, withdrew his men across the bridge. The artillery-men left their guns, came out of the fort, and retreated across the bridge. The bridge was then broken up at the other end by the retreating enemy. Nawáb Ahmad Khán's army thus gained the victory and occupied the field of battle.

From the spot where they had halted, the bridge was in full view. At the time the fight began, Sa'dat Khán Afrídí had led his men against the enemy in advance of Mansúr 'Ali Khán's position. When Mansúr 'Ali Khán's men saw this, in a spirit of emulation, they also ran forward and took the lead. Among these Hisám-ud-din says he himself was present, being then attached to Mansúr 'Ali Khán's force. After the victory Sa'dat Khán and Hisám-ud-din were standing near the breastwork (*safíl*) of the fort, where the bridge could be seen in detail. They wished to advance to the head of the bridge. Rájáh Pirthipat was of the same advice. But when Nawáb Ahmad Khán heard of the victory, he at once sent a camel-rider to recall Nawáb Mansúr 'Ali Khán ; for to advance further would only be to strike one's head against stone walls. On receiving these orders, Mansúr 'Ali Khán turned to retreat. Pirthipat said to him that apparently the fort had been evacuated ; if they marched to the bridge head, any one left in the fort would certainly fire on them ; if they were not fired on, they would know that the fort was empty and could then occupy it. Mansúr 'Ali Khán said he could not go forward against orders, and ordering his drums to beat in honour of the victory, he returned to the Nawáb's presence, where with the other leaders he presented his "*nazar*."

While the siege was going on, Ahmad Khán had appointed Sáhíb Zamán Khán, Dilázák of Jaunpur, to be his viceroy in Jaunpur, 'Azimgarh, Mahaul, Akbarpur, and other places.\* Balwant Singh refused to give up the territory, and urgent orders were sent to Sáhíb Zamán Khán to expel

\* The Dilázák Pathans had been settled in Jaunpur from the time of Muhammad Sháh (1719—1749). Their connection with Ahmad Khán is shown thus :—

(Father not named).



him. Some reinforcements were sent to him and he was joined by Akbar Sháh, Rájáh of 'Azimgarh, and Shamsheer Jahán, zamindar of Mahaul, twenty-three miles north-west of 'Azimgarh. The army was assembled at Akbarpur,\* and the small fort of Sarhanpúr near the camp was taken after a siege of fifteen days. An advance was then made against Jaunpur, and after six hours' fighting the assailants effecting an entrance made themselves masters of the place. Sábib Zamán Khán still delayed his advance, and turned off towards Nizámábád, thirty-two miles north-east of Jaunpúr. After the compromise with Balwant Singh already related, Sábib Zamán Khán with Iláji Sarfaráz Khán advanced to take possession of the country north of the Ganges. Not long after this Ahmad Khán, on the approach of Safdar Jang and the Mahrattas, beat a retreat to Farrukhábád. Balwant Singh then marched from Gangápúr, some miles west of Banáras, to Mariáhu, twelve miles south of Jaunpúr, and made a demand on Sábib Zamán Khán for a return of the territory. The contending parties met in battle array, when Balwant Singh's Afghán leaders refused to fight against their fellow-countryman, Sábib Zamán Khán, now that his power was gone. Balwant Singh thus found it advisable to negotiate. Sábib Zamán Khán then pitched his tent at Chandipur, and next day, a riot about arrears of pay having broken out, he started alone for Azimgarh. Balwant Singh then plundered his house. Not feeling safe in Azimgarh, Sábib Zamán Khán went on to Bettiah,† where the Rájáh gave him shelter. After some time he returned to Jaunpur and was reinstated by Balwant Singh. On his death he was succeeded by his sons, but they were not men of any mark.‡

The story goes that, when the approach of the Patháns was heard of in Banáras, the leading money-lenders went out as far as Phúlpur, some eight *kos* or more from Banáras, and offered a tribute of two *krors* of rupees on condition that the Patháns did not enter their city. Even in a dream, they said, if they saw a Pathán a long way off, they began to tremble. The two *krors* were accepted and the Patháns retraced their steps.§

#### *Siege of Futehgarh and flight of the Nawáb.*

The Wazír after his defeat at Rám Chatauni returned to Delhi on the 29th Shawál (20th September, 1750). He found the Emperor had been put strongly against him. He was much cast down and for many days never left his private apartments, passing most of the day reclining with his hand over his face. At length his wife roused him to exertion and

\* Perhaps the Akbarpur in the Faizabad district about 48 miles north of Jaunpur.

† Across the Gandak river in the Champáran district.

‡ Curwen's translation of the Balwantnamah, pp. 25-29.

§ 'Amád-us-Sa'dat, p. 50, from line 1.

promised him all the money she possessed. Thus encouraged he sent for Rájáh Nágar Mall, Lachmi Náráyan, and Isma'il Beg Khán. The latter advised waiting for an army from Afghánistán. Nágar Mall proposed calling in the Rohelas, who, owing to the attack on them by Káim Khán, bore ill-will to the Farrukhábád Paṭháns. The Wazír rejected this advice, saying that though Paṭháns might fight amongst themselves, they would always unite against any third person. He then asked Lachmi Náráyan for his opinion. In reply he called attention to the large force of 70,000 or 80,000 Mahrattas, under Jai Apá and Mulhár Ráo, then in the neighbourhood of Kotáh,\* and reminded the Wazír that the Paṭháns started at the sound of the Mahratta name, and that one thousand Mahrattas could dispose of ten thousand Paṭháns. The Wazír determined to invoke the aid of the Mahrattas.

The next important point was to effect a reconciliation with the Emperor. For this purpose Jugal Kishor was sent to ask help from Nawáb Názir Jáwed Khán, the Emperor's favourite eunuch. After he had heard the full details of the Wazír's case, the Nawáb Názir said the matter could only be discussed in a personal interview. On Wednesday he would ride out to pray at the shrine of the saint, Sultán-ul-Musháikh Nizám-ud-dín. On his way back he would come to the Wazír's house, when he would state the obstacles to a settlement. Jugal Kishor returned and reported these words to his master. On the Wednesday, after paying a visit to the shrine of Nizám-ud-dín, Jáwed Khán came privately to the Wazír's house. After other conversation, the Názir said to the Wazír that the Emperor's mind had, in an extreme degree, been turned against him, nor could any remark favourable to him be ventured on in the Emperor's presence; and Nawáb Firúz Jang was so strenuous in support of Nawáb Ahmad Khán, that no one dare open his mouth to say a word to the contrary. The Wazír said some words easy to understand (*karíb-ul-fahm*, i. e., offered a bribe, I suppose) to the Názir, asking his intercession with the Emperor and using at the same time powerful arguments. The Nawáb Názir professed himself convinced, and promised that when he saw a chance he would speak in Safdar Jang's favour and, please God, he would turn the Emperor's heart towards him. He then rose, mounted, and went home.

Three days afterwards a news-letter came from the writer attached to Ahmad Khán's camp. He wrote that the eastern zamindars, Rájáh Pirthipat, Rájáh Balwant Singh and others, had brought treasure and had submitted themselves to Nawáb Ahmad Khán; they had joined him in laying siege to Allahábád, which would shortly fall; a large army had collected and was gathering strength every day, a hundred thousand horsemen and number-

\* On the Chambal, 195 miles S. W. of Agra, and 260 miles from Delhi.

less footmen had gathered under the Nawáb's standard ; and it remained to be seen what would be disclosed from behind the curtain of the unknown after the fort of Allahábád had fallen. The Nawáb Názir seized the moment and began to repeat, as had been agreed upon, the speeches made to him by the far-sighted Wazír. The Názir described in touching language his great perplexity at the aspect of affairs, which had quite deprived him of sleep. Before Safdar Jang came back to Delhi after his defeat, Firúz Jang had caused a congratulatory *farmán* to be addressed to Ahmad Khán confirming to him his ancestral dominions. Not content with this gracious act, he had without orders occupied estates directly under the crown (*khálsa*), he had sent his son to take the Súbah of Audh, and now himself was besieging Allahábád. The next attempt would be upon Bengal. The letter writers had already informed his Majesty in detail of the immense army which had been collected. Now the learned declare that the *Akhún Darweza*, written by the spiritual head and high priest of the Afghán race, prescribes that any Afghán at the head of more than twelve thousand men is required and bound to claim complete sovereignty. In that case, Ahmad Khán, who had one hundred thousand men and a territory equal to nearly four or five Súbahs, could not possibly refrain from proclaiming himself king.

When Názir Jawed Khán had got this length in his artful representation, his Majesty became perplexed and asked him the best way out of the difficulty. The Názir at once proposed a pardon of Safdar Jang's misdeeds, the task of reducing Ahmad Khán to subjection being then committed to him. The Emperor objected that nothing could be hoped from Safdar Jang, for, although he had gone with a large army provided with cannon and rockets, he had been overthrown by Ahmad Khán with a very small force. Now that Ahmad Khán's strength had much increased, how could Safdar Jang with the same dispirited troops attempt to oppose Ahmad Khán. There is a proverb *Zadah rá báyad zad, i. e.,* Beaten once will be beaten again.\* The Emperor continued that to his mind the Názir's device was the poorest of the poor (*khám dar khám*), and he declined to accept it, for a good scheme should have no such obvious drawback. In reply to his Majesty, Názir Jáwed Khán said that he had a plan within his plan, for Mulhár Ráo and Apá Sendhia, who were at that time encamped in the Rajpút country, though they were his enemies, would, if sent for, enter his Majesty's service ; and hoping for benefit to themselves, they would be certain to carry out faithfully any orders given them. Suraj Mall Jat's forces also, though they were present with Safdar Jang, had not been scattered or defeated. There was also Háfiz Rahmat Khán, head of the Rohelas, who was a great friend of Safdar Jang. At length the Emperor gave way to Jáwed

\* Roebuck, 1214.

Khán's persuasions, and ordered him to tell Safdar Jang that his faults were forgiven, and that the next day he should present himself for an audience. Jáwed Khán repaired joyfully to his house, and at night he went to the Wazír. After they had embraced, the whole of the conversation with the Emperor was repeated. Then the Názir taking with him Jugal Kishor returned to his home, where he told Jugal Kishor to inform the Wazír that the next day he must present himself to obtain audience, and a list of the *nazarána* must be prepared at once, the amount not being less than twenty-five lakhs of rupees. Jugal Kishor returned and reported to the Wazír, who said that this amount of *nazarána* had been fixed in his interview with Jáwed Khán.

Early the next day the Emperor left his private apartments, and entering the public hall of audience seated himself on his marble throne. The great nobles and high officials, with the Mir Túzak, having presented themselves and made obeisance, took up position according to their rank. Then Názir Jáwed Khán was ordered to go out to meet the Wazír, Safdar Jang, and bring him to his Majesty's presence. When Jáwed Khán reached the Wazír's house, thirty trays of jewels and rich clothes were placed before him. After making the customary protestations of refusal, he accepted them. They then proceeded to the presence, and Safdar Jang touched the Emperor's foot with his forehead. The Emperor lifted his head and clasped it to his breast. The Wazír said, "I have committed great faults, but I hope for forgiveness, as Sa'di says

"Bandah hamán bih kih 'z taksír-i-khwesh  
'Uzr ba dargáh-i-khudá award;  
Warna sazawár-i-khudáwandes  
Kas na tawánad kih bajá award."

The Emperor replied "I have after reflection forgiven you, and accept your excuses." A dress of honour of ten pieces, jewels, a horse out of the Emperor's stable, a sword, and an elephant were granted to the Wazír. Safdar Jang then presented his list of *nazarána*, amounting to twenty-five lakhs of rupees. He then took his leave and with great joy set out on his way home, distributing fifty thousand rupees in alms as he went.

In accordance with Nazar Jáwed Khán's proposal, an imperial *farmán* was issued to Mulhár Ráo\* and Apá Sendhia.† The bearer of it, Rám Náráyan,‡ found the Mahrattas two marches this side of Kotah, which is

\* Rose to notice in 1724, died 1767-8. Grant Duff, 212 and 338.

† Succeeded his father Ránoji about 1750, was assassinated in 1759. Grant Duff, 270 and 310.

‡ Hisám-ud-din says Jugal Kishor went. The *Siyar-ul-M*, p. 88, names Jugal

two hundred and sixty miles south of Delhi. At first, Apá Sendhia demanded two *krors* of rupees, while Rám Náráyan offered fifty lakhs. At length Mulhár Ráo consented to take one *kror* and persuaded Apá Sendhia, who at length agreed; or some say the agreement was for twenty-five thousand rupees a day while the campaign lasted.\* At any rate the Mahrattas commenced their march towards Delhi, where they soon arrived. A man of rank was sent out some distance to meet them, and the next day Mulhár Ráo and Apá Sendhia had an audience of the Emperor, at which they were invested with khila'ts. The Wazír had sent for Suraj Mall Jáť, who also received a robe of honour. The Wazír then requested orders to march, and the Emperor bestowing a *Fath-pech* (a kind of turban?) on Safdar Jang, directed him to march with his army against Ahmad Khán. Safdar Jang crossed the Jamna with his own troops, and those attached to him, that is, the royal army (*Báisi*), the Mahrattas, and the Jáťs.

Safdar Jang's first order to the Mahrattas was to expel Shádíl Khán, the Farrukhábád 'Amil, from the neighbourhood of Koil, and then to follow up his retreat to Farrukhábád. Mulhár Ráo and Apá Sendhia sent off Pindára horsemen to spoil and burn throughout Ahmad Khán's territory. Hastening off as ordered, they began their usual plundering and surrounded Shádíl Khán. Soon after this, Mulhár Ráo and Apá Sendhia arrived in person and began an attack. Although his force was small compared with that of the enemy, Shádíl Khán maintained his position for a time and did all that was in his power. After holding his own for one day and killing a good many of the enemy, he withdrew across the Ganges to Kádír Chauk, in parganah Aujhání of the Budaon district, whence after writing an account of affairs to Ahmad Khán at Allahábád, he marched eastwards along the left bank of the Ganges towards Farrukhábád. Shádíl Khan's retreat took place in the early part of Jumadi I. 1164 H. (17th March, 15th April, 1751).

About six months had elapsed from the defeat of the Wazír in September 1750, when Nawáb Ahmad Khán heard at Allahábád of the retreat of Shádíl Khán before the Mahrattas. He sent for Rájáh Pirthipat and told him that, in order to repel the Wazír, he must return home at once; and by God's favour, having again defeated his enemy, he would rejoin the Rájáh and occupy the eastern districts. The Rájáh said he had one piece of advice to give, which was that he thought it inexpedient to return to Farrukhábád

Kishor and Lachmi Náráyan. The author of the *Siyar-ul-M.* says, it was his uncle Sayyad 'Abd-ul-Ali Khán who first suggested calling in the Mahrattas.

\* The *Siyar-ul-M.* adds that the Jáťs were to get 15,000 Rs. and the Mahrattas Rs. 25,000 a day.

when the Wazír was already so near, for, however fast the Nawáb might march, it would be nearly impossible to arrive in time; and supposing that Farrukhábád were reached in time, the troops being scattered would still have to be collected; it would therefore be better to cross the Ganges into the Súbah of Oudh and then proceed westwards, by which several advantages would be gained. A hurried march need not be made, the army would not be scattered, the zamindars of Súbah Audh, who had been turned out of their homes in the time of Naval "*bad-aml*," would unsought bring aid, in money and in men. Another reason was that the immense number of mercenaries, who had collected under the Nawáb's standard, would disperse in the course of a rapid retreat on Farrukhábád. The Nawáb determined to consult his chief men, and the Rájáh took his leave. Then Nawáb Ahmad Khán sent for Rustam Khán Bangash, Mangal Khán Ghilzai, Muhammad Khán Afrídí, Sa'dat Khán Afrídí, Mustajáb Khán Warakzai, Hájí Sarfaráz Khán and others. When they had been informed of the Rájáh's proposals, they asked for time to consult with each other. They then went apart and discussed the question. The majority of votes was against crossing the Ganges, Hájí Sarfaráz Khán alone dissented. They returned to the Nawáb's presence, and stated that, in their opinion, by crossing the Ganges, the enemy would be deceived into believing that they had crossed from fear. "Let us fear nothing," they added, "this is the same Wazír whom we have already defeated, and, by God's help, we will so wield our good swords, that our enemy shall not escape alive again; the enemy and his army are to us like the well-known proverb 'You may beat the beaten.'" The Nawáb turning to Hájí Sarfaráz Khán said, "You say nothing." The Hájí replied, that his opinion would not please any of the others, but he thought that Rájáh Pirthipat's advice was the best.

According to the decision of the commanders, a march direct for Farrukhábád was ordered. The Rájáh being sent for and informed of the decision, he asked what orders there were for him. The Nawáb said, he left the Rájáh in that country for the present as his representative; he should, therefore, return to his own zamindári and recall the Audh zamindárs to their homes. The Rájáh then received a *khila't* and, having been dismissed, he crossed the Ganges and hastened to his own country.\*

\* Under the year 1165 H. the *Balwant-námah* relates how the Nawáb Wazír started for Banáras intending to take his revenge on Rájáh Pirthipat. At Sultánpur, about 36 miles S. of Faizábád and 85 miles N. of Allahábád, Rájáh Pirthipat presented himself. When thrown off his guard by friendly words, he was stabbed by 'Ali Beg Khán, on a sign from the Wazír. Pirthipat, who was unarmed, sprang upon his murderer, and biting a piece out of his cheek fell dead with it in his mouth. The date of 1163 H. given in the *Miftáh*, p. 498, must be wrong, and the

By order of the Nawáb, his son, Mahmúd Khán, then about fifteen years of age, moved from Jhúsi westwards through Audh. On the road the zamindars of Dundyákheṛa, fifty miles south of Lakhnau, plundered the carts carrying the Nawáb's personal effects (*tosha-khána*). When it was reported to Mahmúd Khán that the baggage had been plundered and several soldiers killed, he halted, and in six hours sacked the village and massacred the inhabitants. After the fight some thousands of boxes were recovered in the village. As he advanced further west, he learnt that the Shekhs of Lakhnau and Kákauri\* had risen and ejected the Patháns from those two places. At that time no reprisals were possible, and the young Nawáb marched on, near Bilgrám† where he met with some resistance, past Sánḍi and Páli,‡ to the bank of the Ganges opposite his father's entrenchment at Fatehgarh.

Commencing his march westwards from Allahábád, Nawáb Ahmad Khán in six days reached his own capital. But the adventurers, who had before joined him from all sides, being pure mercenaries, melted away on the road and retired to places of safety. Only those of good name and position remained true to his standard. His first care was to send off the Bibi Sáhíba and his female relations, who with considerable reluctance crossed the Ganges and set out for Sháhjahánpúr or Anwalah. Many of the inhabitants of the city, seeing her departure, began to desert their homes. The Nawáb now summoned all the commanders and leaders, name by name, to devise means of opposing the enemy. All the commanders and leaders, the bankers and chief traders of the bazar, all who were noted for their intelligence and ability, appeared before the Nawáb. They represented to him that the enemy was very numerous, while the Nawáb's force in comparison was like salt in flour. Admitting that though few they were brave, yet the wise men of old had said "one fights with one, not one with a thousand." It was true the Nawáb was capable of meeting the kings of Europe in battle array, yet on this occasion the Wazír, to remove the stain to his name caused by his previous disgrace, had brought all the fighting men of Hindústán, the Játs and the Mahrattas, like a tribe of ants or a flight of locusts. They therefore thought it advisable to move to the Ganges bank, near the ferry of Hussainpur, three miles east of the city

*Siyar-ul-M.*, p. 883, indirectly confirms the date of 1165 H. The *Oudh Gazetteer* (II. 477 and III. 147) states the scene of the assassination to have been Gutni, on the Ganges, five miles south of Mánikpur.

\* About 12 miles W. of Lakhnau.

† In the Hardoi district, about 34 miles from Farrukhábád.

‡ Both in the Hardoi district.



where there was a position favourable for defence with a small fort.\* Around it was then a wide, open, plain about a square mile in extent. At the edges of the plain were deep ravines. They thought it best for the army to encamp in that spot. It is nowhere stated why the fort in the city was considered untenable; perhaps because it could be cut off on the outer side from the surrounding country and its supplies; while at Fatehgarh the army had the river flowing under its camp, by which boats could have easy access to it, and this danger was averted, so long as the enemy failed to cross the river and occupy the other bank.

At once, on hearing the suggestions of his chief men, relations and advisers, the Nawáb heartily agreed, and mounting his horse proceeded in state, with all his forces, to the place appointed on the bank of the Ganges, and there formed his camp. Next day the division of the army attached to the artillery arrived and brought the guns into camp. Then the Nawáb in person went out and taking up his position at the head of the ravines already referred to, directed the posting of the guns, large and small, and caused them to be connected by chains. Making over charge of the guns to his brothers and the Risáldars, he returned to his head quarters on the Ganges bank, and ordered a bridge of boats to be got ready. The day the bridge was finished, the Nawáb's son, Mahmúd Khán, reached the river on the opposite or left bank, and Shádil Khán Ghilzai also came up from Kádír Chauk in the opposite direction. The day after their arrival, both of them were honoured with interviews.

We now return to what had happened meanwhile to the Wazír. When his spies brought him word that Nawáb Ahmad Khán had returned from Allahábád, and was preparing for defence, he sent for Mulhár Ráo and Apá, and asked them what was their plan of operations. They replied that they were at his orders. The Wazír told them to despatch one of their principal men with a strong force to surround Ahmad Khán, and cut off his supplies of food, water, and forage. Accordingly they detached Tántiá with ten thousand active horsemen towards Farrukhábád.

On reaching the environs of that city forsaken by its ruler, they set many villages and towns in flames. When the Mahratta horse entered the city, and found within it nothing but perplexity, poverty, hunger and thirst, giving up all hope of plunder, they marched on to the place where the Nawáb stood prepared for resistance. As their eyes fell on his army they said to one another, "O friends! Mulhár Ráo and Apá Sendhia sent us to engage and surround this force; but this Nawáb is so brave and of such peerless race, that with only a few men he overthrew the Wazír and his countless host." With such men they considered it was necessary

\* Now known as Fatehgarh fort.

to act with circumspection. Hearing that some guns had been left at Yácutganj, about five miles south of the city and four miles from Fatehgarh, Tántiá sent off some of his horse in that direction. They collected a number of villagers and began to drag the guns towards their own camp. As they approached Kásim Bágh\*, about half a mile south-west of Fatehgarh fort and Hussainpur, the Paṭhás, who had concealed themselves in the ravines, made a sudden rush and fell upon the guns, turned them on the Mahrattas, and fired shot and rockets, so as to kill many and put the rest to flight. When Tántiá saw this disaster, he mounted and ordered out his troops. The whole of his force advanced against the Paṭhás and commenced a musketry fire, accompanying it with the discharge of rockets. On hearing this firing, Nawáb Khán mounted and coming to the batteries stood there. He ordered his *risálahdárs* to advance to support the Paṭhás already under fire. Shádil Khán Ghilzai, Sa'dat Khán Afrídí, Muhammad Ali Khán Afrídí, Muhammad Khán Afrídí, Khán Miyan Khán Khaṭak, 'Umr Khán Gwáliyári, Námdár Khán, brother of Nawáb Ghairat Khán, Núr Khán, son of Khalil Khán Mataniya, Mangal Khán of Tilhar and others, left their batteries and advanced to support the Paṭhás. Tántiá on his side came on to meet and repel them. When the two forces came closer, the musketry fire ceased and swords were drawn. The Afghán attack was so fierce that they even began to wrestle with their enemies, and to lay hold of them by the neck. Unable to bear up against the assault, the Mahrattas took to flight. When this success was reported to him, Nawáb Ahmad Khán sent a camel-rider with orders forbidding a further advance, and recalled the troops. The commanders on receiving this order, sent on the recovered guns in front, and followed them into camp with drums beating a triumphal march. The Nawáb gave praise to each private soldier and dresses of honour to the leaders. He then went back to his tents.

On hearing of Tántiá's defeat, the Wazír with the Jáṭs, Mahrattas, and the remainder of his army continued his march till he arrived near the Nawáb's entrenchment. He left Mulhár Ráo, Apá Sendhia and Tántiá at the Kásim Bágh. He proceeded on himself till he arrived at Singhirámpur, a ferry on the right bank of the Ganges in Parganah Bhojpur, some eleven or twelve miles further down the river than Fatehgarh, and there he fixed his own encampment. Then he issued orders to Núr-ul Hasan Khán Bilgrámí to throw a bridge of boats across the river.

When Nawáb Ahmad Khán heard of the Wazír's intentions, he gave orders to his son, Maḥmúd Khán, who was posted upon the farther or left bank of the river, to detach two or three thousand men to prevent the

\* The native infantry hospital is now in the Bágh, where is the tomb of Kásim Khán.

bridge being thrown across by the Wazír. The young Nawáb deputed Lála Syám Singh, brother of the deceased Shamsher Jang, chela. This chief at the head of his own regiment repaired to the threatened point, and on reaching it found the bridge half made. He began such a heavy musketry and rocket fire, that the enemy left their bridge and ran away. The attempt to cross was thus defeated, to be renewed afterwards with more success.

On the receipt of the first news of the Wazír's return with the Mah-rattas, Nawáb Ahmad Khán had written in all directions for aid. Amongst others, he wrote to Nawáb Sa'dullah Khán and Háfiz Rahmat Khán, the heads of the Rohela confederacy, saying that though they had differences, they could settle those among themselves, but need not allow injury to come from the hand of strangers. He hoped they would send troops to help him, so that they might jointly attack their common foe. Háfiz Rahmat Khán first excused himself on the ground of the blood-feud between them, caused by the death of Káim Khán; till the blood of Káim Khán was forgiven, he would be afraid to trust his men in Ahmad Khán's power. The Nawáb replied, that he made them a gift of Káim Khán's blood-feud, and thenceforth till the day of judgment he would take no revenge on them.

On the receipt of this letter, Sa'dullah Khán, son of Ali Muhammad Khán, sent for Háfiz Rahmat Khán, Donde Khán, Mullá Sardár Khán, Fath Khán, and Bahádur Khán, chela, informed them of its contents, and asked their advice. Háfiz Rahmat Khán, by reason of his affection for the Wazír, sat silent, and owing to his silence the other leaders would say nothing. Sa'dullah Khán asked Háfiz Rahmat Khán, why he said nothing? Rahmat Khán asked the Nawáb, what his own intentions were? The Nawáb replied, that his intentions depended upon those of others. Háfiz Rahmat Khán's answer was, that in that case the Nawáb would have to give up taking any part in the war. Bahádur Khán, who owing to his bravery took the lead among all the Rohela commanders, exclaimed, "Have our leaders exchanged their turbans for women's veils, for such coward words should be unknown to any Paṭhán lip." Then turning to the Nawáb, he said, that if orders for the march were not given, he should the next day start himself without orders, taking his regiment with him, and any Afghán, who cherished his name and reputation, might follow. Then rising he took his leave, and began his preparations. Nawáb Sa'dullah Khán repaired to the female apartments, where he repeated to his mother word for word the altercation which had occurred between Háfiz Rahmat Khán and Bahádur Khán. He then asked her what he ought to do, to follow Háfiz Rahmat Khán or Bahádur Khán. His mother said "Light of my eyes! to ask

“advice in such matters from our sex is not seemly, do as your heart dictates, but to me it appears that Háfiz refrains from action out of partiality for the Wazír, while Bahádur Khán’s readiness to join the war, shows his respect for his own good name and reputation.” On hearing these words from his mother’s mouth, Nawáb Sa’dullah Khán came out of the private apartments, and sent again for all the principal men. He declared that it would be dishonourable in him to refuse Nawáb Ahmad Khán’s request for aid, and accepting all the consequences, he meant to march the next day, those might follow who liked, and the rest might please themselves. Then sending for Bahádur Khán, he said to him, “Inform my regimental commanders that if they hold themselves my servants they will attend me, otherwise, I dismiss them.” Bahádur Khán carried out these orders, and except the contingents of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, Donde Khán, and Mullá Sardár Khán, all the others presented themselves, accompanied by Fath Khán Khánsámán. Next day the march began.

Let us now return to the events which occurred meanwhile between the two contending armies at Fatehgarh. Every day, on the side of Mulhár Ráo and Ápá Sendhiá, from daybreak up to an hour and a half before sunset, an artillery fire was kept up, directed against the camp of Nawáb Ahmad Khán. At nightfall the Patháns would come out of their shelter in the ravines, go at the batteries and capture perhaps two or three small guns, which, after driving off those in charge, they would bring into their own camp. A little before sunset the rest of those concealed in the ravines came out of hiding, and began to cook or otherwise employ themselves. The leaders went to pay their respects to the Nawáb. One day they were all seated close to the Nawáb’s private tent, when the enemy, noticing them collected in one spot, fired one of their heavy guns in that direction. By chance the ball struck the side of Kázim ‘Ali Khán, son of Shamsher Khán the martyr, then engaged in the evening prayer. It next cut off the arm of Nawáb Shádi Khán, sixteenth son of Muhammad Khán, and hit two or three others. All were killed. On this sudden misfortune being reported to him, Nawáb Ahmad Khán got into his *palki* and came to the place where the two bodies lay, and standing there he gave orders for their burial, saying that the next day he hoped by God’s grace to put several to the sword in exchange for those lost. After burying the bodies, the Patháns made a sortie and fell upon the camp of the Mahrattas. They fought most bravely and boldly all night, so that the Mahrattas were forced to give way. When the sun rose, the Patháns, with drums beating and swords drawn, returned to their camp with a number of severed Mahratta heads held aloft upon spears.

Upon the Wazír's receiving a detailed report of these nocturnal contests, he sent for the leaders of the Mughals and Kizilbásh, and told them how, although invested, Ahmad Khán's troops each night left their ravines to attack the Mahrattas, and every morning carried back heads upon spears. He wanted to know what they were about not to prevent this, and he told them that he spat upon their beards. That very day they must proceed to the threatened position, and so fight that they should either defeat the enemy and bring their heads to lay at his, the Wazír's feet, or else give up their own lives to the enemy. Those tiger-cubs (*sher-bacha*) joined the Mahratta army, and after a short rest hastened on to Kásim Bágh, opposite to which was the battery commanded by Mansúr 'Ali Khán, the thirteenth son of Nawáb Muhammad Khán. Between the *bágh* and the battery there was no cover, but the ground was uneven and rugged. The *sher-bacha* advanced out of the *bágh*, and taking shelter in a hollow, began a fire from large muskets. Again advancing in the same manner, they at length came quite close to the battery. When the Kizilbásh horsemen saw that the *sher-bacha* were close to the battery, they dismounted and advanced as a reinforcement. They all then attacked together. The Patháns, who were ready waiting for the enemy, gave them one round from their cannon and let off a number of rockets, then drawing their swords rushed upon them. When they had put many of their assailants to death, the rest giving way took refuge again in the Kásim Bágh. The Patháns followed them up and, forcing them to continue the retreat, themselves occupied the *bágh*. To the right of it, on the east side, there is an open space at a much lower level. Here there stood drawn up in ambush a very large force of Mahrattas. Seeing that the Wazír's soldiers were retreating, unable to withstand the Afghán attack, and that the Afgháns quitting their batteries had come as far as Kásim Bágh, a number of these horsemen dashed into the space between the battery and the *bágh*. The regiment was under the command of Tántiá. When the valiant Afgháns perceived that the Mahrattas had barred their retreat, they said to each other, "O friends, fire your arrows and aim your swords first at the horses' legs, so that the rider having fallen, you may slay him." All the Afgháns adopted this mode of dealing with the Mahratta horse, and they killed many of them. At length the Mahrattas dismounted and continued the fight. This engagement was watched by Mansúr 'Ali Khán Sáhizádah from the battery. Rising and grasping his sword, he went out on foot towards the enemy. His personal followers with bared swords preceded him, among them was Hisám-ud-dín Gwáliyári, from whose book we quote. Counting his followers and others accidentally present, he found there were about one thousand men or thereabouts. These came up in the midst of the affray between the Mahrattas and the first

party of Patháns. They made an onset in the other direction, and at this point the men from the next battery on the left or east came up to reinforce them. Abdullah Khán Warakzai, Zábíta Khán Khaṭak, Anwar Khán Kochar, and others used their swords with such effect that the Mahrattas gave way. When Tántiá saw that his men were on the point of taking to flight, and being angry at the disgrace of his former defeat, he dismounted and exclaimed that he would give up his life sooner than retreat. But his attendants forced him to remount and led him off to his camp. As the defeated Mahrattas began to flee, Nawáb Mansúr 'Ali Khán Sábibzadah and the other leaders sent for their horses, and mounting hastened after them as far as the eastern corner of the *bágh*, whence they saw that the Mahrattas in great confusion had reached their own camp. Mansúr 'Alí Khán and the others, leaving the *bágh* on their right hand, came round to the west of it and halted. Nawáb Ahmad Khán now rode up to the batteries, and directed the commanders not to leave their batteries nor to draw up their troops beyond the ravines, for the Mahrattas would give no further trouble. Mansúr 'Ali Khán then returned to his old position, and Nawáb Ahmad Khán accorded him great praise. All the commanders were ordered to remain in their batteries on the alert. After this Nawáb Ahmad Khán returned to his own quarters.

After the investment of Fatehgarh had lasted a month and some days, there came the report of the near approach of Nawáb Sa'dullah Khán. This news caused great anxiety to the Wazír, Mulhár Ráo, and Ápá Sendhiá. Háfiz Rahmat Khán had written to the Wazír, that although he had done his best to dissuade Sa'dullah Khán, his advice had been rejected and the Nawáb had marched to the aid of Ahmad Khán. He therefore advised the Wazír to make a peace with Ahmad Khán, in the best way he could, before Sa'dullah Khán arrived, for, according to the tradition, "Peace is preferable to enmity."

Next day the Wazír went to Mulhár Ráo and Ápá Sendhiá's quarters, and informing them of Sa'dullah Khán's march, he asked what they thought. Mulhár Ráo and Ápá Sendhiá sending for their principal men reported the matter to them and asked their opinion. All the leaders, except Ápá Sendhiá, who was privately favourable to Ahmad Khán, said they were entirely at the disposal of the Wazír, their opinion need not be asked, they would carry out whatever orders they received. The Wazír turning to Ápá Sendhiá asked the reason of his silence. He replied that there could be no dispute about the self-evident, what all men could see could not be doubted. They had in no way been slack in carrying on the war, Ráo Tántiá had kept up constant hostilities, yet they had not succeeded. As for the Wazír's army, which was made up of picked troops, its

state the Wazír himself had seen. Ahmad Khán had got the better of both their army and of the Wazír's, and when Sa'dullah Khán joined him it would be quite impossible for any one to beat the united force. The Wazír then admitted to the Mahratta leaders that Háfiz Rahmat Khán, in stating that Sa'dullah Khán had been led astray by Bahádur Khán, added that it would be best for the Wazír to make a peace before Sa'dullah Khán arrived. The Wazír requested their opinion. They answered that there could be nothing better than to do as suggested, for then further losses on both sides would be prevented. The Wazír asked the best way to open negotiations; for if on their side the first advances were made, it would lower their dignity. Apá Sendhiá said, that in his opinion, the objection could be obviated by calling in Nawáb Ghairat Khán and Himmat Khán, who were themselves Paṭháns.

Mulhár Ráo and Apá got up, followed by their chief men, and assembled in another place. They sent for Nawáb Ghairat Khán and Himmat Khán. The Mahrattas told them that they did not wish that Nawáb Ahmad Khán should be reduced to extremities, that he should be expelled from his territories or lose his life in battle. As they wished for peace between Ahmad Khán and the Wazír, they asked them to negotiate. The two Paṭháns recounted all the wrongs received by Ahmad Khán's family at the hand of the Wazír, and upbraided the Mahrattas for forgetting the former friendship between them and the house of Ghazanfar Jang. The Mahrattas admitted the former friendship, but pleaded the *farmán* of the Emperor of all Hindustan, which had directed them to serve under the Wazír. Still they had not exerted themselves much, in fact had acted purposely with carelessness and negligence. Ghairat Khán and Himmat Khán then commented unfavourably on the Emperor's treatment of the Bangash family, and made other objections. At length they were talked over and withdrawing their objections, they asked what the proposals were. Mulhár Ráo asked them to go home, and he would assemble the leaders; when a decision had been arrived at, they should be informed.

The two Paṭháns left and went to their tents, while the Mahrattas remained to discuss the matter among themselves. At last it was decided that ten lakhs of rupees should be given by the Wazír as the price of blood for the sons of Ghazanfar Jang, and that, besides the ancient territory, the Wazír should make over two of his own Maháls, Páli and Sándi,\* which adjoined the other lands of Ahmad Khán. When they went to the Wazír and informed him, he accepted their decision. The leaders then proceeded to the quarters of Nawáb Ghairat Khán and Himmat Khán, where they made them acquainted with the proposed terms, which they considered very

\* Both now in the Hardoi district of Audh.

favourable to Nawáb Ahmad Khán. They requested that a trusty messenger might be sent to the Nawáb to lay the matter before him on their part. Nawáb Ghairat Khán selected his brother Alaf Khán. Alaf Khán went and represented to Nawáb Ahmad Khán, that ten lakhs would be paid, and that Páli and Sánqi would be added to his former territory. As soon as he heard the words, Ahmad Khán said that, if the Wazír paid ten *krors* of rupees as the price of his brother's blood, never would he accept it, nor if twenty sons of the Wazír were slain, would he be satisfied. He declined to treat, and left it to the decision of the sword—

“Har kih shamsher zanad sikka ba-nám-ash khwánd.”

Nor let them think that he was invested in that fort, for he was ready at any moment to meet them in the open field. His defeat of the Wazír had passed into a proverb; as for Suraj Mall Ját, he was the same who had been unable to stand up against him before, and in company with the Wazír had taken to flight. By God's favour, after victory they would see him act as an honorable and brave man should act. Till their fate had been tried in battle, what peace could there be. If he gained the day, he would attain his desires, if the fates were against him, he bowed to the will of the Most High; but the blood of Ghazanfar Jang's sons should never be sold for gold. He then gave Alaf Khán his dismissal, and presented him with a dress of honour, a horse, and a sword.

Soon after Alaf Khán had departed, messengers brought word that next day Nawáb Sa'dullah Khán would march up and encamp on the bank of the Ganges. Orders were accordingly given to Nawáb Mahmúd Khán and Manavar Khán Sáhíbzádah to go out to welcome him. At one watch before sunrise those two chiefs started, as directed, to meet and escort Nawáb Sa'dullah Khán.

Next day the army of Sa'dullah Khán, with swords drawn and drums beating, came into sight. It is said they were twelve thousand in number.\* All the Patháns and Rohelas, and the soldiers in all directions, out of joy and delight at sight of this reinforcement, began firing off their guns. They were so puffed up with pride and became so haughty that they remembered not God. Sayyad Asad 'Ali Sháh with several men, among others Hisám-ud-dín Gwáliyári, was seated on the river's bank watching the arrival of the army of Nawáb Sa'dullah Khán. As the holy man's glance fell upon the troops on the further side of the river, he became suddenly agitated, and falling into a deep reverie, he exclaimed, “Slain and defeated.” When he returned to his ordinary state, he said that the joy and rejoicing of these men had not found acceptance, they would see what the morrow should bring forth.

\* Life of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, p. 40.



Sa'dullah Khán pitched his tents on the opposite or left bank of the river, and Nawáb Ahmad Khán sent off for his use food of every description by the hand of Mustajáb Khán Warakzai. Nawáb Ahmad Khán also sent a request that next day Sa'dullah Khán would cross the Ganges, for it was highly important to combine their forces into one. This message was delivered, but Sa'dullah Khán said that, after consulting with his chief men, he would send word of his intentions. Then he sent for Bahádur Khán and Fath Khán, and told them of Nawáb Ahmad Khán's request. Bahádur Khán, who was very reckless, replied that it was not meet to present themselves before the head of the Afghán clan without an offering (*nazarána*), and word should be sent to Ahmad Khán, that if God willed, they, his well-wishers, would the next morning lay before him as an offering the heads of the Wazír, of the Mahratta chiefs, and of the Jáť leader. Sa'dullah Khán, being youthful and inexperienced, sent off a message to that effect. Ahmad Khán replied that whatever he thought best he should do, but to one thing he should pay the strictest attention, namely, not on any account to quit his hold of the river bank. When the fighting began, if the Mahrattas turned, he should not let his men pursue, because it was the Mahratta practice to pretend they had been put to flight, and lead their enemy away from his supports. Next day Sa'dullah Khán and Mahmúd Khán and Manavar Khán Sáhibzádah prepared for battle and, ranging their troops in order, led them against the enemy.

On the other hand, the Wazír had been greatly frightened by the arrival of Sa'dullah Khán. He sent for Mulhár Ráo, Apá Sendhiá and Súraj Mall Jáť in order to consult. The plan was adopted of sending troops across the river to meet and fight Sa'dullah Khán, before he could unite with Ahmad Khán. The bridge at Singhi-rámpur, which was in bad condition, was put in order. Then Khánđe Ráo, son of Mulhár Ráo, and Tántiá Gangádhar with fifty thousand men crossed the bridge. Jowáhir Singh, son of Súraj Mall Jáť, and Ráná Bhím Singh, zamindar of Gwáliyár, followed with forty thousand horse and foot. The attack upon the Rohelas then commenced. At first the Rohelas under Bahádur Khán let fly rockets, which fell from the sky like rain; then they discharged their muskets. By degrees they gave over firing and drawing their swords, rushed upon the Hindús, who soon beat a retreat. Bahádur Khán, forgetting Nawáb Ahmad Khán's counsel, quitted the river bank to pursue the flying enemy. With Bahádur Khán may have been some two or three thousand men. He went in pursuit far ahead of the main body of his troops. The enemy, seeing that there was only a single elephant followed by a few men, without any reserves at hand to reinforce them, turned upon Bahádur Khán and surrounded him. Bahádur Khán got off his elephant, mounted his horse, and followed by his men with their swords

drawn, tried to repel the enemy. But the Hindus encircled them, as if they were shooting game, and kept up at them a galling discharge of musketry and arrows. They also wounded many and killed many with sword and *dhop* (a kind of sword) and lance and spear. Bahádur Khán, so long as he was alive, kept hold of his sword, nor did he belie his name of Bahádur (the brave). Not a soul coming up to aid him, at last he fell off his horse, and gave up the ghost. The enemy then cut off his head; and those of his men who remained sought safety in flight. This disastrous defeat, which suddenly changed the whole complexion of the campaign, occurred early in Jamadi II. 1164 H. (16th April—15th May, 1751).

When Sa'dullah Khán heard that Bahádur Khán was killed, he asked Fath Khán Khánsámán what should be done. Now, all the other leaders had entertained a deep-felt enmity to Bahádur Khán. At the time of departure from Anwalah, Háfiz Rahmat Khán had said privately to Fath Khán that in battle Bahádur Khán was sure to be the foremost, it would be well to arrange judiciously that no one went to his support, so that he might be overcome and slain, thus getting rid of a great thorn in their side, for it was he who had incited Nawáb Sa'dullah Khán into taking the part of Nawáb Ahmad Khán. And if Ahmad Khán should overcome the Wazír, he would aim at the throne itself, none being left to contend with him; then, taking satisfaction for the blood of Káim Khán, he would expel all the Rohelas from their country.

On Sa'dullah Khán's putting the question to him, Fath Khán found his opportunity, and he at once said that the best thing was to turn their faces towards Anwalah. The Nawáb replied that honour would not permit him to depart, leaving Ahmad Khán in the mouth of the enemy. Fath Khán answered that Ahmad Khán had now no chance of success, he too would soon follow to Anwalah, where they could consult together on the best course to be pursued. Sa'dullah Khán gave in to these arguments as conclusive and turned his face towards Anwalah.\*

Nawáb Mahmúd Khán and Manavvar Khán, finding that Sa'dullah Khán was moving off towards Anwalah, returned to Nawáb Ahmad Khán's head quarters. Ráná Bhím Singh and Jowáhir Singh, son of Súraj Mall Ját, who were in command of the enemy on that side of the river, were now in a position to oppose the return of the two Sábhibzádahs. Jowáhir Singh wished to cut off their retreat, but the Ráná objected. He was a well-wisher to the family of Ghazanfar Jang, Daler Khán, the well known

\* The life of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, p. 40, says Sa'dullah Khán reached Anwalah without an attendant on the third day after his departure. On both points this statement must be somewhat exaggerated.

chela of that Nawáb, having been his uncle.\* The Ráná's objection prevailed, and an hour or so before sunset, the Sáhízbádahs presented themselves before the Nawáb.

When the report spread that Bahádur Khán had been killed, and that Sa'dullah Khán had retreated to Anwalah, the whole of the men in camp began to tremble like willows. Nawáb Ahmad Khán mounted his elephant, and proceeding to the embrasures of the batteries, told every body that his ability to wage war was not dependent on Sa'dullah Khán, that God willing, he would next day order an advance from the batteries, and going as far as Singhi-rámpúr, would give battle to the Wazír. Then privately sending for each leader, he told him to be on the alert, for at three hours before sunrise he would march to make a night-surprise on the enemy. After such-like reassuring speeches he returned to his tent. He gave orders to the men in charge of the bridge to break it up. The investment had now lasted one month and eleven days.

Three hours after night-fall the Mahrattas and Játs set fire to Sa'dullah Khán's tents, and the flames burned so brightly, that it was light as day in Nawáb Ahmad Khán's camp. Those in the army who were frightened, and in all their lives had never seen such a confusion and conflagration, began to make their escape. The leaders and men of reputation alone remained at their posts. These, seeing the state of fright into which their troops had been thrown, went in a body to the Nawáb and represented to him the state of affairs. He asked what they thought. They advised him to cross the Ganges and take safety in flight. At first he refused, but at length becoming convinced that there was no other course open to him, he consented. Then taking his brothers Murtazza Khán, Khúdábandah Khán, 'Azim Khán, Manavvar Khán, Salábat Khán, Sháístah Khán, and his chief men, such as Rustam Khán Bangash, 'Ináyat 'Ali Khán, Bahyáb Khán, Shádíl Khán, Mangal Khán, Sa'dat Khán, Mustajáb Khán, he left the fort while it was still night, and proceeded up stream along the river bank. The Mahrattas came up with the rear guard of the retreating Paṭháns near Shikárpur ghat, which is five miles above Fatehgarh. The Nawáb continued his flight to Kamrol ferry, about fifteen or sixteen miles above that place, and there his elephant Kálá-pahár swam across, guided by Ramzání Mahaut, after they had thrown in a bag of gold to propitiate the genius of the stream. Many of his followers lost their lives in attempting to swim their horses across after him. The Nawáb proceeded through Amritpur to Sháhjahánpur, and thence to Anwalah.

\* See p. 286, Vol. XLVII, 1878, where I state reasons for doubting the correctness of this relationship.

Meanwhile Nawáb Mansúr 'Ali Khán Sáhibzádah, 'Abdullah Khán Warakzai and others had received no notification of the Nawáb's departure, their batteries being to the left of the Nawáb's position. When a rumour of the flight of the Nawáb was brought, Mansúr 'Ali Khán got up and mounted his horse, followed by Hisám-ud-dín, Rasúl Khán and others. He sent for his jama'dárs and said to them that the Nawáb had sent for him, that he was going to see what orders there were. He then went away. As a long time passed without his returning, Rasúl Khán said to Hisám-ud-dín "I expect the Nawáb has gone," and he sent a man to make enquiries. This messenger did not return. While still waiting for his coming, the night was spent and day began to break. When the rumour of the Nawáb's flight spread, a panic arose, and each man began to look out for his own safety; some hid in the brushwood (*jháo*) in the river bed; others rode their horses into the stream, thinking to escape by swimming, but they were all drowned. The events of that day, Hisám-ud-dín says, cannot be described, he can only recount what befell himself.

When day arose Hisám-ud-dín, Rasúl Khán, Ghairat Khán and 'Abdullah Khán resolved to sell their lives dearly, and all by themselves issued from their battery. They saw the Mahrattas stripping of their clothes, one by one, all those fugitives, who had neither got clear off nor had been drowned in the river. A group of these Mahrattas came towards Hisám-ud-dín and his companions and surrounded them. In the party were three horsemen, Hisám-ud-dín, Rasúl Khán, and 'Abdullah Khán Warakzai, all the rest were on foot. These latter on seeing the enemy began to divest themselves of their clothes and threw them down. Ghairat Khán Bangash, however, drew his sword and ran at the enemy, and after some passes with his sword, was wounded and fell. Some of the enemy recognizing him, made him a prisoner. The same happened to Rasúl Khán and 'Abdullah Khán. Hisám-ud-dín with a few men remained standing on one side. Sarfaráz Khán Dilázák, a native of Dholpúr-Shikárband, was holding Hisám-ud-dín's horse. He was a great friend and protector of Sayyads. Hisám-ud-dín said to him, "You see what has happened to the others, what shall we do?" He replied that, when he had taken service, he held it to be part of his duty to give his head for him he served; now that the time had come, to shirk the blow would be a coward's deed. Then calling to his three brothers who stood near, they all four, sword in hand, rushed upon the foe. After a fierce hand-to-hand struggle, they were overcome and slain. Then the enemy's horsemen rode up and surrounded Hisám-ud-dín. Standing at a little distance they cried out to him. "Take your hand from your bridle, if you want to save your life." He answered that with his horse went his life and his head, should he fall, the horse was theirs. On this they said

to each other something in Mahratti, which he did not understand. Then one of them lifted his right hand and hurled his spear at Hisám-ud-dín. It struck him between the side and the left arm. Another spear was thrown by the same man from his left hand. This second spear entered at the right side, and the two spears crossing each other stuck out like the handles of a pair of scissors. The wounds caused Hisám-ud-dín to feel giddy and left him no strength to wield his sword. Just then the shaft of one of those spears fell down, and struck the horse on the crupper. From the blow the horse gave a bound, and Hisám-ud-dín, losing control of him, was thrown, with the two spears still sticking into him like a pair of shears. At once several of the scoundrels got off their horses and making him a prisoner, wrenched the bare sword out of his right hand. Hisám-ud-dín now thought it was all over, and turning his thoughts to Heaven, he humbly prayed to God that, whether his life were taken or not, he might be spared further dishonour. As he lay, he turned his face towards the Ganges, and being on the high bank at the edge of the river, he could see below him a number of Afgháns, who for fear of their lives had stripped themselves naked and were crouching in the water. At this moment a fresh party of Mahrattas came up. On seeing them, many of these seated at the water's edge threw themselves into the river; the rest, seeking quarter by putting their fingers between their teeth, were captured and driven off towards the camp.

In a short time some other horsemen rode up and asked Hisám-ud-dín why he was seated there alone. He replied "What else can I do?" They said "Come with us." He said "I am not able to walk." They had with them a wounded horse, which they ordered him to mount. He obeyed and mounting rode with them. The sowars took him straight to Mulhár Ráo, who was standing with his retinue near the Kásim Bágh. Mulhár Ráo said to him, "Did Ahmad Khán cross the Ganges early or late in the night?"

Hisám-ud-dín.—"I do not know."

M. R.—"How can I believe that you could have been in Ahmad Khán's camp without knowing?"

Hisám-ud-dín.—"If I had known I should have gone with the Nawáb."

M. R.—"That is true."

He then ordered one of the horsemen to take Hisám-ud-dín to the tents of Khánde Ráo,\* where he was to receive every indulgence consistent with his detention as a prisoner. When brought before Khánde Ráo, he assigned comfortable quarters to Hisám-ud-dín.

\* Khánde Ráo was killed at the siege of the Ját fort of Komber in 1755-6. Grant Duff, 284.

Next day Mulhár Ráo, with his chief men, paid a visit to his son Khánde Ráo. Among his retinue was one Shekh Muhi-ud-dín, resident of Narmálpúr, in the service of Anthal Ráo, Mukásadah-dár\* of Gwáliyár. This Shekh came up to Hisám-ud-dín, and asked, "What is your name?"

H-ud-D.—"Hisám-ud-dín"

M-ud-D.—"Where is your native country?"

H-ud-D.—"Gwáliyár."

M-ud-D.—"In what mahalla (quarter of the town) do you live?"

H-ud-D.—"My home is outside the city, they call the place Ghaus-púr."

M-ud-D.—"Are you any relation to Ghaus-i-Islám, the saint?"

H-ud-D.—"My grandfather Makhdum Abu'l Hasan (on whom be peace) was sister's son, and also son-in-law of Ghaus-i-Islám."

On hearing this, the Shekh took Hisám-ud-dín to Nawáb Manavar Khán, son of Nawáb Anwar Khán, a descendant of Sháh 'Isa Burhánpuri. This latter was a disciple of Sháh Lashkar 'Arif, who himself was a disciple of the saint Mírán Hamid-ud-dín, known as Ghaus Gwáliyári. To the Nawáb he reported minutely all their conversation. At once, the Nawáb came forward out of the group in which he was standing, and with the greatest courtesy approached to Hisám-ud-dín, stated his wish to be his firm friend, and putting him on his own horse, led him away to his house. There he was treated with every kindness. After a time the Nawáb urged Hisám-ud-dín to enter his service, but he refused, saying, "I shall be equally grateful to you, if you will put me across the river Ganges, so that I may rejoin Nawáb Ahmad Khán wherever he may be." At length the Nawáb gave up his efforts to detain Hisám-ud-dín and agreed to his departure. The day after, he rode in person to the river bank and saw that Hisám-ud-dín got safely across. 'Abdullah Khán Jama'dar had at that time just crossed with a party of Afgháns and Rohelás. Joining them Hisám-ud-dín set out for the camp of Nawáb Ahmad Khán.

#### *The Campaign in Rohilkhand.*

When Nawáb Ahmad Khán saw that all had left him except his leaders and jamádars, he came to the conclusion that the rulers of Anwalah had only sent Sa'dullah Khán to join him in order to get rid of Bahádur Khán. Besides, they may have thought that Ahmad Khán's soldiers would in despair desert and join them. Although fully aware of all these plans, Ahmad Khán found that the deplorable state of his army made resistance hopeless. Therefore, as already related, he crossed the Ganges and made his way to Anwalah where the Rohela leaders came out to meet him.

\* See Grant Duff, pp. 36, and 98 for meaning of this term.

Hamilton\* comments unfavourably on the imprudence of the Rohela policy in allowing a part of their forces to join Ahmad Khán. The answer seems to be ready in the facts of the case, which in Hamilton are substantially as we have given them. Action was taken by the hot-headed youth, Sa'dullah Khán, against the wishes of the more experienced leaders. But having once gained the advantage, it was not likely that the Wazír, still less the Mahrattas, would make any fine distinctions between Sa'dullah Khán's enmity and the friendly feelings of the rest. The whole Rohela confederacy was to be attacked and swept away.

Consultations were now held between Ahmad Khán and the Rohelas; and the plan at length decided on, was to take shelter at the foot of the Kumáon hills. Next day Nawáb Ahmad Khán with the Rohela leaders, setting out towards the hills, reached Murádábád. It so chanced that there was a halt there of several days' duration. In this interval messengers brought word that the Wazír, leaving Mulhár Ráo and Ápá Sendhiá at Singhi-rámpúr, had proceeded to Lakhnau. On hearing this, the Rohelas told Nawáb Ahmad Khán that they considered it advisable to return to Anwalah, the rainy season being close at hand, during which they could rest undisturbed at home, employing the time on summoning their clansmen from all sides, and making ready to renew hostilities with the Mahrattas. This place was accepted by all, and they returned to Anwalah. The Rohelas went to their houses, and Ahmad Khán encamped outside the town.

When the rains of 1751 were over, preparations were made for a campaign, boats were collected, and a bridge was thrown across the river called the Rám Gángá. This river flows through Rohilkhand and falls into the Ganges on the left side nearly opposite Kannauj, more than forty miles below Farrukhábad. On a report being brought to the enemy of the advance of Ahmad Khán with the Rohelas and other Paṭháns, they despatched Khánde Ráo, son of Mulhár Káo, with other leaders and a numerous army, across the Ganges, to meet and repel them. Then Ahmad Khán and the Anwalah *Sardárs* crossed their bridge, and gave strict orders to their men to keep close to the river bank, following its course. The river at one place described a semicircle. Here the Mahrattas had taken up their position, intending to bar the Afghán advance. Donde Khán, who commanded the vanguard, seeing the position occupied by the enemy, came to the conclusion that he could not effect a passage along the river bank. He therefore refrained from continuing his march, and posted his artillery between the two points to east and west formed by the bend in the river. By this manœuvre he cut off the enemy's line of retreat. When Khánde

\* History of the Rohela Afghans, pp. 106 and 108.

Ráo saw that they had fallen into the trap laid by the Patháns and that their retreat was cut off, he sent a man to Nawáb Ahmad Khán to make terms. The messenger said, that though by the Emperor's order they had served the Wazír in this campaign, they were not in heart fighting for him, they only fought to save appearances; what should be now agreed on privately with them, they swore solemnly to carry out in writing, when the campaign under the Kumáon hills had once commenced. Ahmad Khán, on this message being received, sent for Háfiz Rahmat Khán, told him what was proposed, and referred to the old friendship between his father, Muhammad Khán, and the Mahrattas. He then requested Háfiz Rahmat Khán to send orders to Donde Khán to withdraw from his position closing up the Mahratta line of retreat. Háfiz Rahmat Khán in reply said that in time of war, Donde Khán took orders from no one, perhaps if Nawáb Ahmad Khán went in person he might agree, and he, Háfiz Rahmat Khán, was willing to accompany him to the spot.

The order of battle was as follows; To the rear and in support of Donde Khán were Bahádur Khán and Mullá Sardár Khán; after them came Fath Khán Khánsámán; and then Nawáb Sa'dullah Khán with Háfiz Rahmat Khán, who, mounted on one elephant, formed as it were the advance-guard of Nawáb Ahmad Khán. Ahmad Khán and Háfiz Rahmat Khán proceeded to Donde Khán's head-quarters, where they informed him of what the Mahrattas had promised and had sworn an oath to do. He said in answer, that the Mahrattas must have sent overtures only because they were in extremity. For was not the river on three sides of them, and had he not cut off the fourth? Without any labour or trouble a speedy victory would be obtained. Oaths taken at such a juncture were worthless. The Nawáb admitted that what Donde Khán said was quite true, but it was against the creed of a good Musulman to refuse peace to those who asked it. If their oaths were false, God would mete out the punishment. Donde Khán was forced at length to accede, and he sent word to his regiments to withdraw and allow a free passage. The soldiers were then moved off, and the road cleared for the enemy. Then Nawáb Ahmad Khán and Nawáb Sa'dullah Khán pitched their tents on that spot. Next day they marched onwards, and reached the head of the boat-bridge, thrown across by the Wazír under Singhi-rámpúr.

Before the arrival of the Mussulman forces, the Mahrattas had broken up the bridge, and when Nawáb Ahmad Khán reached the place he found the river separating him from the enemy. Artillery fire began on both sides. The troops who had been allowed to withdraw from their critical position in the bend of the river, gathered round the Nawáb's army but did not come to close quarters. After things had been in this situation for a



week, and no means could be found of crossing the river, and the food which the troops had brought with them was nearly exhausted, the Rohela leaders represented the state of affairs to Nawáb Ahmad Khán. He asked what they thought of doing. Háfiz Rahmat Khán then told him that during the night a letter to Sa'dullah Khán had been received from Najib Khán, to the effect that he would arrive shortly with reinforcements. He was advancing down the opposite or right bank of the Ganges. This being the case, they thought it best to march and encamp themselves near Súraj-púr, a ferry in Parganah Kampil, some thirty miles or more above Farrukhábád, and forty-two miles from Singhirámpúr. There they could collect boats, and then crossing the river they could join with Najib Khán in making a forced march against Mulhár Ráo, who had at the moment only a small force. Time must not, however, be given to repair the broken bridge. Therefore, on marching, they would give out that they were retreating to their own bridge over the Rám Gangá, to replenish their stores of grain; and that having obtained fresh supplies, they would at once re-occupy their old position and renew hostilities. Nawáb Ahmad Khán consented and they marched. The Mahrattas kept up a distant fire as they marched off, but they made no attempt to follow.

Meanwhile the Wazír, who had heard of the Afgháns' attempt, hurried back and crossing at Mahndi ghát in parganah Kannauj, forty miles below Farrukhábád, rejoined Mulhár Ráo at Singhirámpúr on the 9th Muharram 1165 H. (17th November 1751). On his arrival the whole of the guns were fired off as a salute, and the sound excited great consternation in the Pathán camp. On hearing that the Wazír had arrived, the Pathán leaders assembled, and after a discussion it was finally decided to march straight to Bangarh in parganah Budaon, ten miles north of Budaor. Báizid Khán, commander of the artillery, was sent for and received orders to move off with his guns, first firing a salvo from all his pieces. These orders were executed and the artillery set out. The change of plan had not been communicated to the troops. When they saw the artillery being removed, a panic took possession of all except the commanders and other principal men. Not a single man kept to his proper place. When the leaders saw this, they were much cast down, saying to each other, "Without a battle we have been defeated." Nawáb Ahmad Khán and his men were half a *kos* distant from Nawáb Sa'dullah Khán's troops, and quite ignorant of what had occurred in the Rohela camp.\*

\* Here Hisám-ud-dín appears to gloss over a defeat which, as is admitted by the Rohela account (*Life of H. R. K.*, p. 42), occurred on the road to Anwalah. The Mahrattas, they say, had crossed by Kamrol, which is twenty-eight miles above Singhirámpur. Hamilton (p. 109) places the scene of the defeat at Islámnagar, thirty-

The sun had not yet risen when Sa'dullah Khán, Háfiz Rahmat Khán, Donde Khán, Mullá Sardár Khán, Fath Khán and others rode into Ahmad Khán's camp. The Nawáb was asleep, but Mustajáb Khán and Háji Sarfaráz Khán went in, woke him, related what had happened to the Rohelas, and informed him of the presence of Sa'dullah Khán and the others. Then Ahmad Khán sent for his chief men, Rustam Khán Bangash, Sa'dat Khán Afrídí, Mangal Khán, Jamál Khán, Zábta Khán, Muhammad Khán, 'Abdullah Khán, Anwar Khán, Sa'dat Khán Toyah, Shamsheer Khán Mahmand, Shádíl Khán Ghilzai, and others. He gave orders to Shádíl Khán and Sa'dat Khán to move off at once, break up their bridge and direct the boatmen to remove the boats forthwith to Súrajpur ferry. There they were to form a bridge of boats and maintain their position, as he intended to cross the river at that point. To the other commanders he gave orders to arm and be ready. He then directed his march towards the Ganges in the direction of the Rohelas, and taking them with him on his right, they all encamped on a wide open plain. The Rohelas then sought an interview and explained the condition of their troops. They told him that on sending off their artillery to Bangarh, their men had scattered, intending to take to flight. With such a state of things existing, it was impossible for them to continue hostilities in the field. The Nawáb said he ought to have been informed of their intentions at once, when they could have concerted other operations. To retreat without giving battle was pitiful weakness and would be so held by all the world. The Rohela leaders held down their heads and spoke not a word. At length they ventured to say, "What is done cannot be helped, the arrow shot from the bow cannot be recovered." In reply to the Nawáb's further enquiries, they stated that, their army having once lost heart, they had better go to Anwalah, assemble all their families and go with them to the hills. They advised the Nawáb to do the same. The Nawáb, with great reluctance and under compulsion of necessity, agreed to their proposals. At an hour and a half before sunset they started for Anwalah.

Next day, before the setting of the sun, they entered Anwalah, and Nawáb Ahmad Khán took up his quarters in a *bágh* inside the town. There he rested for nine hours. When one watch remained to daybreak, he sent for Nawáb Sa'dullah Khán and set out towards the hills. The other leaders had been employed the whole night in collecting their cash and buried treasure, their household effects, the artillery and the rocket

two miles north-west of Budáon, but that seems too far to the west. It might be Islámganj, close to Allahganj in parganah Amritpur. Perhaps Hisámud-dín, being half a *kos* off, did not witness the battle, but that hardly excuses his suppressing it, as he must have heard of it immediately afterwards.

train. Then leaving the town in company with their wives and children, they set their houses in flames and marched off. At three hours after night-fall they reached Rámpúr, where they pitched their tents. Next day they marched again and got to the neighbourhood of Murádábád. After a halt of some six hours, they resumed their route for Káshipur, thirty miles north of Murádábád. At that place a spy from Ápá Jíu Sendhiá arrived with a letter for Nawáb Ahmad Khán. It stated that when the Wazír heard that his enemy was retreating towards the hills, he at once gave orders to his army to cross the river and pursue by forced marches, without halting anywhere. Mulhár Ráo and Tántiá, with thirty thousand men and the Mughal "Kizilbásh," had been detached on this duty. The letter said that they would soon come up, and Ahmad Khán had better enter the hills at once and prepare for defence. Ahmad Khán sent for Háfiz Rahmat Khán and the other Rohela leaders and informed them of the intelligence he had just received. To the messenger he gave seven gold coins and sent him back.

Without further delay the Paṭháns started for the hills. The following day they entered the low jungle, and there they found a place surrounded on three sides with impenetrable growth of thorns and bushes. On the fourth side, which afforded a passage, they dug an extremely deep ditch, and along it built towers, which made it look like the fort of Daulatábád in the Dakhin. In the centre of this plain they pitched their encampment.\* The Anwalah leaders also put up their tents and, ranging their cannon, connected them with iron chains. Notwithstanding all these preparations, they were much dejected, for they saw no prospect of supplies, and without food the place was untenable. For a time, in default of any thing else, they subsisted upon sugarcane. After two or three days had passed without any change, Nawáb Ahmad Khán sent for all the Rohela leaders and told them, that although the Omnipotent had favoured them with a refuge, whence they could defy the kings of all the seven climes, yet it was absolutely necessary to secure food. The Rohelas replied that the Rájáh of Almorah had great affection for Sayyad Ahmad, the Názim for his territory at the foot of the hills. This Sayyad was, they said, hospitable and kind-hearted and well-affected towards them. They advised that application should be made for assistance in grain, accompanying the letter, which should be in affectionate terms, with rare and costly presents of every kind. The Nawáb having approved of this suggestion, Háfiz Rahmat Khán, leaving his presence, went straight to the Sayyad, who held a battery with Najíb Khán, and reported to him what had been decided

\* The Life of H. R. K., p. 42, says the encampment was at Chilkyá, which is 22 miles N. E. of Káshipur, and some 48 miles N. E. of Murádábád.

upon. He brought the Sayyad to the Nawáb, who gave him a rich present and sent him off to Almorah with the letter. Before the Sayyad reached that place, a wakil from the Wazír had arrived by way of the Mahdi jangal. The Wazír's message was, that as his enemies had sought shelter at the foot of the hills, it would only be consistent with friendship to cut off all supplies of grain from the fugitives. In return for this favour, the Rájáh would be allowed to take possession of all the Rohela territory. When the Sayyad got to Almorah and delivered the letter and the rare presents, the Rájáh gave the Wazír's wakil his dismissal, saying it was inhuman not to feed those who took refuge with you. He ordered his managers to direct the villagers near the Nawáb's entrenchment to carry loads of grain on their heads to the camp. He gave the Sayyad an answer to the letter and sent him back. The Sayyad had not returned before several thousand hillmen appeared in the camp with head-loads of grain, which they at once offered for sale. The men in camp, who were suffering all the pangs of starvation, looking on the arrival of this grain, which to them was "like sweetmeats without milk," as a special mark of the divine grace, bought each according to his need, and having made a prostration of thanksgiving, proceeded to cook and eat. After this the Sayyad returned with a gracious answer, the contents of which were not communicated to any one but the chief personages.

When the Wazír had crossed the river Ganges, he despatched Mulhár Ráo and his troops, giving them strict injunctions to follow up the enemy. But the Mahratta leaders, true to their agreement, made excuses for delay, saying to the Wazír that, as Tántiá-Gangadhár and the Mughals with a large force were already in pursuit of the Afgháns, it would be better to wait and see first what direction the enemy took. When trusty reports were received, a forced march could be made. Soon after, it was reported that Nawáb Ahmad Khán and the Rohelas had gone to the foot of the hills. The Mahrattas made forced marches, till they reached within three *kos* from the hills occupied by the fugitives. At that distance they encamped, and the Wazír pitched his tents near the village of Chaukya.\* Every day the Wazír, keeping to the rear himself, sent the Mahrattas forward to fight. At sunset they all returned to their camp. After having been delayed some time on the road, the Wazír's artillery arrived, while these daily contests still continued. Next day at sunrise, he mounted his elephant and brought up his guns opposite Ahmad Khán's battery. The firing, however, was so high that all the shot passed quite over the battery attacked and fell beyond the

\* This name I have not traced. Hamilton (p. 110) says the Afgháns went to "a short distance above Lall Dong."—The life of H. R. K. (p. 42) says, the encampment was at Chilkya, which is about 22 miles north-east of Káshipúr.

camp in the plain behind. In this plain, which was about a square *kos* in extent, the shot fell like a heavy shower of hailstones. The firing lasted from morning till night. Night had hardly fallen, when, as a precaution, the cannon were dragged away and placed near the Wazír's camp. These tactics were pursued for two months, without any effect having been produced on the Patháns. A stream of water which flowed from the hills hindered the Wazír's operations. The Rohelas had dug a channel from this stream, and they led the water all round their entrenchments. Mulhár Ráo and Súraj Mall Ját tried in vain every expedient to discover a way of entrance.

During this time, the Wazír's agent at the Emperor's Court had written, in one of his news-letters, that spies had reported to his Majesty the approach of Ahmad Sháh Durráni, who was coming to the aid of his fellow-clansmen, the Afgháns. The Durráni had issued orders to the Afgháns of the hill-country to gather on the banks of the Indus and there await his arrival. The letter went on to say that, when his Majesty heard this report, he became very anxious and said to Nawáb Firúz Jang, "What shall we do? Safdar Jang, with my troops and the landholders from all parts, is gone on a foolish campaign, nor does it yet appear that he has either overcome Ahmad Khán and the Rohelas, or that he is likely to overcome them." Firúz Jang, making a low obeisance, said his presentiments were coming to pass, and he had already warned the Emperor. As Názir Jáwed Khán's advice had been followed, it would be best to ask him now what should be done. The Emperor admitted that this was true, yet since man was compounded of error, he thought that it was not fitting for Firúz Jang to refuse to give advice. Then Firúz Jang said he thought a note (*shukka*) should be sent to inform Safdar Jang that, owing to Ahmad Sháh Durráni's approach, it was desirable to make peace with Ahmad Khán. He proposed to confide the message to 'Ali Kuli Khán, the six-fingered.\* Accordingly 'Ali Kuli Khán had, the Wakil reported, been sent to Safdar Jang with a *shukka* from the Emperor.

#### *Attack by the Atíths of Rájah Indar Gir.*

The Wazír concealed this intelligence even from his greatest intimates. Next day, he sent for Mulhár Ráo, Ápá Sendhiá, Tántia-Gangádhār and Súraj Mall Ját. He said to them that, though two months had elapsed they were no further advanced than on the first day, in fact, they had given no assistance. Ápá Sendhiá, anticipating the others, said in reply, that they were used to fight in the open, not against entrenchments or for-

\* Wali-ullah, p. 175, shows that this was an epithet applied to 'Ali Kuli Khán, Wálih, Dághistáni, for whose biography, see the "Khizána 'Amira," p. 446.

tresses. Indar Gir Atíth then said, that their enemy was in the open, not in either entrenchment or fortress. The only obstacle was the water. Now, there were two corners, where there was no water, one to the east and one to the west; that to the east was the battery of Najíb Khán and Sayyad Ahmad, that to the west was defended by Nawáb Ahmad Khán. If any one chose to take the slightest trouble, they would gain a victory. Apá Sendhiá said to him, "You, too, are in the service of the Nawáb Wazír, wherefore do you not take this trouble you speak of?" Rájah Indar Gir said, that the next day he would make an assault on the battery of Nawáb Ahmad Khán, and he would take it unassisted. By the Wazír's good fortune he would bring Ahmad Khán alive a prisoner, or else he would bring his head on the point of a spear. The Mahratta leaders said, that nothing could be better than this, and taking leave of the Wazír they rose and departed. When they reached their tents, Apá Sendhiá sent word to Nawáb Ahmad Khán that he might expect next day an attack by Rájah Indar Gir Atíth, who would, they hoped, be killed or defeated.

When night had passed and the sun arose above the eastern horizon, Rájah Indar Gir's fifteen thousand men, horse and foot, all Atíths and Nágás, each having a musket and rockets, were passed in review by the Wazír and despatched to the assault. Before he set out, Indar Gir requested the Wazír to make a feigned attack with the Mughals and "Sherbacha" in the direction of Najíb Khán's and Sayyad Ahmad's outwork, in order to draw all the Patháns to that quarter, leaving Ahmad Khán's battery unprotected. The Wazír did as requested, and the fighting began. Rájah Indar Gir posted himself in a hollow and awaited a favourable moment. The Mughals did their best. But Najíb Khán maintained his position, and called to his friends to cease firing and await the near approach of the enemy, and then meet them with the sword. Najíb Khán sent a message to Mullá Sardár Khán and Donde Khán, asking them to leave their own posts, thinking the main attack was directed against him. Háfiz Rahmat Khán, on seeing that Najíb Khán was attacked, rode off to Nawáb Ahmad Khán. Before he arrived Ahmad Khán had mounted his elephant and had taken up position in his battery. Háfiz Rahmat Khán came up and represented that the chief attack that day was against Najíb Khán. The Nawáb replied, that the attack on Najíb Khán was entirely a feint, the real attack by the Atíths would be made there, on Ahmad Khán's entrenchment. He therefore requested Háfiz Rahmat Khán to return to his own battery. Then the Nawáb ordered all his own leaders to be on the alert. At an hour and a half before sunset the Atíth's troops began to show in the open. The Pathán commanders asked for leave to draw up their men in battle array. The Nawáb told them to offer up a prayer

(*Fítaha-i-khair*) and then go at the enemy. All the leaders and Paṭháns, raising their hands to heaven, offered up a prayer and went at the Atíth. Both sides began with musketry fire and discharged rockets. For nearly an hour, the fight was thus continued; at length, the Paṭháns began to advance, and coming to close quarters, made play with their swords. Under the force of the attack the Atíths began to withdraw. The chela of Indar Gir, who commanded on the part of his Guru, seeing that the Atíths and Nágás were turning their faces, dismounted from his horse and attempted to rally them. He called on his personal followers to draw their swords and make a rush. They obeyed this order and fought most bravely. Many were killed, the rest were scattered. Then the Atíth commander himself, sword in hand, came to the front. He was met by a Paṭhán with bared sword. After some thrusting and parrying, the Paṭhán cut the Atíth down, and severed his head from his body. When the Atíths saw that their leader was dead, they took to flight.

Rájah Indar Gir, perceiving the turn affairs had taken, quitted the field of battle. The Paṭháns followed in pursuit up to the entrenched camp of the Wazír, where they arrived about sunset. The sun having set, darkness succeeded, so that one man could not recognize another. Soon the Nawáb's messenger came up with orders recalling them from the pursuit. They set fire to the Wazír's gun-carriages, and with the baggage they had plundered returned to their entrenchments. The principal men presented themselves before the Nawáb and offered him gifts in honour of the victory. The Nawáb gave them due praise and thanks in a kind and gracious manner.

The Wazír, when he heard of Indar Gir's defeat and the death of many Atíths, became greatly perturbed, issued from his tent, got upon his elephant and set out towards Káshipur. At once, on hearing of the Wazír's flight, Mulhár Ráo and Ápá ordered out a large force and followed him. On reaching Káshipur, they drew up and cut off his retreat. Then going to him, they said that, although the Paṭháns had repulsed Indar Gir, there was no occasion for this excessive timidity. Indar Gir had but received the due punishment of his pride. In short, Mulhár Ráo and Ápá prevented the Wazír from carrying out his foolish intentions, which were quite contrary to the dignity of his station. Then the Wazír marched back and re-occupied his former encampment. The daily attacks with artillery were at an end, owing to the gun-carriages and material having been burnt by the Paṭháns.

*Visit of the Almora Rájah.*

At the suggestion of Sayyad Ahmad, the Rájah of Kumáun agreed to pay a visit to the camp. Taking with him several thousand infantry, the

Rájah, seated on a gilt throne and clad in jewelled raiment, descended from the hills. Nawáb Ahmad Khán went out to meet him, and when they came close, they both saluted at the same moment. The Nawáb brought the Rájah to his own quarters and seated him on a separate *masnad*. Presents were then brought of all the choice products of Hindustán, including an elephant. Of all the things placed before him, the Rájah selected two *rúmál* and refused the rest. Sayyad Ahmad knew the Rájah's dialect, and whatever the Rájah said was explained by him to Nawáb Ahmad Khán. After a short interval, the Rájah rose and taking his leave of the Nawáb went to his own camp. Next day the Nawáb returned the Rájah's visit. The Rájah came out in state to greet him, and they proceeded in the most friendly manner, hand in hand, into the Rájah's tent, where the Nawáb was conducted to his seat on a costly *masnad*. He was then presented with hill products, such as hawks and falcons, and other birds used in falconry, bags of musk, *chaur* (?) and gold ingots, called in Hindi *suná-sungad*,\* which have a perfume like essence of roses. There were also several hill ponies (*Tárgan*) of various colours, the like of which would not often be found. The Rájah also gave several kinds of jewels, rare and of great price. At first the Nawáb refused those gifts. The Rájah, seeing that his present was not accepted, said to Sayyad Ahmad in his own tongue that he knew the things were not of sufficient value, but he hoped that to give him pleasure the Nawáb would accept them. Then the Nawáb, to please him, accepted all the things. The day after this, the Rájah took his leave and returned to his home in the hills.

#### *Negotiations through 'Ali Kuli Khán.*

Meanwhile the difficulties of his undertaking were troubling the Wazír day and night. About this time, 'Ali Kuli Khán, the six-fingered, the 'Abási, a descendant of the kings of Wiláyat, reached camp with the imperial letter, under the Emperor's own signature, directing that peace should be made with Ahmad Khán. The *shukka* was handed to the Wazír, and the messenger delivered the Emperor's verbal message, with reference to the approach of Ahmad Sháh Durráni. The Wazír represented to 'Ali Kuli Khán that, if the first proposals for peace proceeded from him, his reputation would be gone for ever. He asked advice as to how negotiations should be begun. 'Ali Kuli Khán replied that he and Ahmad Khán Ghálib Jang, were old friends and acquaintances, that if the Wazír

\* Perhaps the same as referred to in the following passage, "In Garhwál there "is a vein of iron pyrites, which the people call 'sone-ká-pathar,' or gold stone, and "sell them to the pilgrims to Badrinath at high rates." Economic Mineralogy of Hill districts of N. W. P. by E. T. Atkinson, Allahábád, 1877, p. 30.



approved, he would seek an interview and turn Ahmad Khán's mind towards peace. The Wazír was highly delighted at this suggestion.

'Ali K̄uli Khán sent off a formal letter stating how desirous he was of paying a visit to Ahmad Khán. On receiving it, Ahmad Khán sent for Háfiz Rahmat Khán and the other Rohela leader, and informed them of its contents. They all agreed that it would be well for the Nawáb to receive the proposed visit, as 'Ali K̄uli Khán was his friend. Ahmad Khán sent a reply saying, that there had been no need to ask for leave, his house might be looked on by 'Ali K̄uli Khán as his own. 'Ali K̄uli Khán having informed the Wazír of this favourable reply, the Wazír made him swear by his head that in no way would he let Ahmad Khán know of the desire to make peace. 'Ali K̄uli Khán said, he might feel quite at rest, for the degradation of the Wazír would, in his opinion, be a dishonour to the Emperor.

On 'Ali K̄uli Khán approaching the Nawáb's battery, the Nawáb's son, Mahmúd Khán, was sent out to escort him. On their meeting, they embraced affectionately, and then mounting the same elephant, they started for the Nawáb's tent. The Nawáb rising from his seat advanced to the edge of the carpet, and there they embraced. Thence hand in hand they walked to the *masnad*. A friendly conversation began and lasted a long time. 'Ali K̄uli Khán was then conducted to a tent, which had been prepared for his repose, where every kind of food was made ready and sent to him. In the evening Nawáb Ahmad Khán walked to his guest's tent. At first they talked as friends and then they turned to business. The note, which the Emperor had written to Ahmad Khán with his own hand, was brought out. Taking it in his hand, Ahmad Khán placed it on his head, rose from his seat, turned his face towards Delhi and made a low obeisance. He then read the note. The contents were made known to no one but the principal leaders. It was only after a time that, through the commencement of negotiations, it was seen that the Emperor had recommended peace. Ahmad Khán, after he had read the letter, asked what he was expected to do. 'Ali K̄uli Khán told him he should send his son, Mahmúd Khán, and Háfiz Rahmat Khán back with him, in order that the world might see that, although the Wazír had failed, yet as "*ul-amr faut ul-adab*" (an order supercedes ceremony), he, Nawáb Ahmad Khán, had obeyed the Emperor and had sent his son and the principal leader under Sa'dullah Khán to negotiate with the Wazír. In this way the Wazír's honour would be saved, and thereby the Emperor's dignity preserved. Ahmad Khán objected that in this matter he could not act till he had consulted others.

Accordingly, Nawáb Ahmad Khán mounted and went to Sa'dullah Khán's camp. Háfiz Rahmat Khán and the others were sent for, and the Nawáb laid all the facts before them. Mullá Sardár Khán, the oldest present, took up the word and enquired what force Ali Kuli Khán had with him. Ahmad Khán asked what he meant by that question. Sardár Khán replied that a strong powerful leader was required, who could oppose the Wazír, if need arose—one who could enforce the terms granted. He preferred making overtures through Mulhár Ráo and Apá Sendhiá. But, under no circumstances, could he approve of allowing the Nawáb's son to go to the Wazír. Háfiz Rahmat Khán might go or not as he pleased, for he was a private friend of the Wazír's. Ahmad Khán, turning to Sardár Khán, said he highly approved of his remarks, and he would act accordingly. He then rose and returned to his own quarters. Next day, he said to Nawáb Ali Kuli Khán that, though he fully trusted him personally, the Rohela leaders objected to allowing his son to go to the enemy's camp. On hearing this, Ali Kuli Khán said, "By God, your advisers are sharp-witted and far-seeing. My wish was as they have counselled, my heart's desire has been fulfilled, for all I wanted was to turn your thoughts towards peace." The Nawáb replied, "My friendship to you is firm like an engraving on stone."

After this interview, Ali Kuli Khán took his departure and returned to his own camp. He then sought an interview with the Wazír and related in detail all that had passed. He pointed out that, although he had brought Ahmad Khán to entertain thoughts of peace, the condition was that the negotiations be conducted through Mulhár Ráo and Apá Sendhiá. Khánde Ráo must therefore be sent to bring in the Nawáb's son and Háfiz Rahmat Khán. The Wazír sent for Mulhár Ráo and Apá Sendhiá and requested them to arrange for bringing in the Nawáb's son. On his arrival they could come to a decision. The two Mahrattas professed their willingness, if nothing was intended which could force them to act afterwards in opposition to the Wazír. The Wazír out of regard to his own honour was obliged to promise that no treachery was intended. Then Mulhár Ráo sent his son, Khánde Ráo, with an escort, to conduct the Nawáb's son to the Wazír's camp. Apá Sendhiá had already sent word to Ahmad Khán, desiring him to make no objections to sending off his son.

Meanwhile Khánde Ráo and the escort had come near the battery and drew up close to it. Word was brought of his arrival. Forthwith Mahmúd Khán was sent for and, after the Nawáb had whispered in his son's ear a few words of advice, two hundred trusty horsemen were ordered out to accompany him, one of them being our author, Hisám-ud-dín. On the

part of Sa'dullah Khán was deputed Háfiz Rahmat Khán. When Khánde Ráo saw the young Nawáb approaching, he descended from his elephant, and embraced him with the greatest respect. They mounted their elephants again, Khánde Ráo taking up a position behind the young Nawáb and in this order they went forward, till they came close to the Mahratta camp. Mulhár Ráo, Apá Sendhiá, Tántiá and others rode out to greet him. When they came opposite the Sáhibzáda, they all dismounted and embraced him. After this, Mulhár Ráo took him to a tent and seated him on a *masnad*, the Mahratta leaders taking place around him. Presents were then laid before him of choice products of the Dakhin. A few were accepted, the rest, including a horse and an elephant, he left with them.

The Mahratta leaders next proceeded to the Wazír and desired that persons of suitable rank might be sent to conduct the young Nawáb to the Wazír's presence. Orders were given to Nawáb Sálár Jang\* and Ali Kuli Khán. The Mahrattas returned with them, and on reaching the proper distance they drew up. On hearing of their arrival, the young Nawáb and Háfiz Rahmat Khán marched out of camp. When he saw them in the distance, Nawáb Sálár Jang began to advance, and coming near he descended from his elephant, and they embraced. They then returned together towards the Wazír's camp. At a little distance the Sáhibzáda halted, whereupon Mulhár Ráo and Apá Sendhiá asked the reason. Mahmúd Khán requested them to precede him and obtain the Wazír's consent to the admission of his escort, for he wished the whole of his companions to be present at the interview. They went on as desired and came back with the necessary permission. Ismá'il Khán was at the same time told to go to the gate and see that no opposition was offered to the entry of the Nawáb's followers.

The Mahrattas then escorted the Sáhibzáda towards the Wazír's audience tent, where he was seated awaiting them. The enclosure (*surácha*) had three courts. The Sáhibzáda traversed two courts, and then dismounting from his elephant, he got into a *palki*. The other chiefs got off their elephants at the gate of the first court, and there entered their *palkis*. At the third gate the Sáhibzáda stopped and told his followers to enter first. When they had done so, he followed and halted. Then Mulhár Ráo and Apá Sendhiá advanced to the spot, helped him out of his *palki* and went forward with him.

On reaching the edge of the carpet, he made a low obeisance. The Wazír exclaimed, "Welcome!" and extending both hands clasped him to

\* I presume this must be the third and youngest son of Ishák Khán Mutaman-ud-daula, whose daughter was married to Shuja'-ud-daula. Najm-ud-dín Ishák Khán, the eldest son, was killed at Rám Chatauni, see p. 74.

his breast and gave him a kiss on the forehead. This mode of salutation is, among the Mughals, a proof of the greatest affection and condescension. Then the Wazír invited him to take a seat at his right hand, on a *masnad* placed on a line with his own. The Sáhibzáda, taking some gold coins in his hand, presented them as an offering. The Wazír graciously remitted the "*nazar*," but the Sáhibzáda insisted, when the Wazír smiled and accepted the gift. After this the young Nawáb sat down, and the Wazír took his hand and, holding it to his breast, began a friendly conversation. In the course of it, the Wazír said "Paṭháns do not flee, how is it your father has run away so far?" Mahmúd Khán replied, "My father is only a half-breed." The Wazír asked what that meant. The Nawáb explained, thus, "My father's mother was a Mughal and his father a Paṭhán, when he follows his father he fights boldly, and when he takes after his mother's qualities, he runs away." By this answer the Wazír was silenced, for he was himself a Mughal. In a short time, the Wazír turning to Mulhár Ráo and Ápá Sendhiá, said he had not eaten any food, would they kindly take their leave of Bába Mahmúd Khán. The two leaders rose, mounted and went away to their own camp. The Wazír took Mahmúd Khán and Háfiz Rahmat Khán to his private tents and called for food. It was sent to the guests through Baká-ullah Khán. When the meal was finished, the Wazír directed Ismá'il Khán to pitch tents for their reception on the right side of his own private enclosure. As soon as the tents were ready Mahmúd Khán and Háfiz Rahmat Khán took their leave.

When one watch of the night had passed, several thousand armed Mughals, by order of the Wazír, took up their position round the tents of the visitors. When the Nawáb's people became aware of this, each man went separately and told his own master. The Mahrattas' spies were of opinion that some treachery was on foot, and in great agitation they started to report to their chiefs. Khánde Ráo, as soon as he heard the report, without referring to his father, mounted and rode in hot haste to the Wazír's camp. There he saw that one thousand Mughal troopers were drawn up round the young Nawáb's tents. Immediately he gave orders to his troops to attack those despicable fellows and disperse them. Hearing these orders, the Mughals made off. Entering the enclosure, Khánde Ráo found Mahmúd Khán and Háfiz Rahmat Khán with all their men drawn up, sword and shield in hand, ready for the fray. Seeing Khánde Ráo, the young Nawáb laughed and said, "I prayed God that I might get near the Wazír, and the Omnipotent has heard me. Now my wish is, if you will join me with your brave followers, to give the Wazír a taste of my quality." Khánde Ráo replied, that the Wazír should be left to himself to bear the disgrace of what he had done, and that Mahmúd Khán

ought to come away at once. They all mounted and rode off together ; and leaving the Mahratta camp on the left, they turned towards the foot of the hills. When they were not far from Ahmad Khán's camp, Khánde Ráo took his leave, and returning made a minute report to his father.

Before Khánde Ráo got back, Mulhár Ráo and Ápá Sendhiá had been to visit the Wazír, and they told him how wrong it was to ask their intervention when intending treachery. They used some very strong language. The Wazír expostulated mildly, asking them what they were thinking of to use such hard words without any enquiry. The truth was, he said, easily found out by asking 'Ali Kuli Khán, a trusted friend of Ahmad Khán. When 'Ali Kuli Khán came, the Wazír requested him to relate the facts. He stated that, knowing the Wazír's men to bear a deadly grudge to the Afgháns, he feared that they might attempt to use force, by which the Wazír's good name would be destroyed, he had therefore asked the Wazír to post a guard of a thousand Mughal horse round the tents of the Paṭhán guests. This explanation was received as quite satisfactory.

#### *Intrigues in the Paṭhán Camp by Mahbúb 'Alam.*

After the failure of the first negotiation, another plan was hit upon. Mahbúb 'Alam, a native of Shamsábád, was a man of learning and intelligence, who, through Mír Kudrat 'Ali Khán, had obtained employment in the Wazír's service. On account of his wisdom, the Wazír thought highly of his advice. One day the Wazír said to him " I have tried every device " to overcome these Paṭháns, but the words of the sacred writing have been " fulfilled 'the few shall overcome the many.' As you are a clever man, tell " me in what way I can best overcome my enemy." The Sayyad made a low bow and said, " This man of mean understanding has a plan, but hitherto " he was afraid to disclose it, for he is not one of the old servants, and, may " be, this slave's remarks would not meet with approval." The Wazír replied, that he thought more of him than he did even of his old servants, and he begged him to express his ideas without ceremony, for there was nothing to fear. Then the Sayyad went on, " Gracious master, peace be on " you! the first question is this, does my lord seek the death or capture of " Ahmad Khán alone, or does he rather aim at extirpating the whole race?" The Wazír answered, that his enemy was Ahmad Khán ; with the others he had nothing to do ; but as they had joined Ahmad Khán, he had been led to attempt the destruction and extirpation of the whole Paṭhán race. The Sayyad then asked, what would happen to the other Paṭháns if they quitted Ahmad Khán and presented themselves to the Wazír? The Wazír declared that, according to their merits and station, he would treat them with consideration ; to those who were men of rank he would give dignities

and grants of land revenue ; the rest he would entertain in his army. The Sayyad then said, that if such were the Wazír's intentions, then in his humble opinion it would be well to write *parwánahs* to each man separately under the Wazír's own seal. These *parwánahs* should then be made over to him, Mahbúb 'Alam, with a written order in such terms as to the Wazír might seem meet.

The Wazír directed Sayyad Manavvar to convey an order to his secretary to make out *parwánahs*, according to the instructions of Sayyad Mahbúb 'Alam, to whom those written orders, when ready, were to be made over. Kudrat 'Ali Khán and Mahbúb 'Alam then took their leave and went to the secretary. After the orders were written out, they were taken to the Wazir for approval ; they were then delivered to Mahbúb 'Alam at Mír Kudrat 'Ali Khán's tent.

Now Mír Muazz-ud-dín, son of Sháh Khaṭír-ud-dín Gwáliyári, was a brother's son of Hisám-ud-dín's father. He was in the direct employ of the Emperor, but he happened to be present at that time in the Wazír's camp. The Kudrat 'Ali Khán above referred to had a community of belief with him, and looked up to him with great respect. The reason was, that Kudrat 'Ali was a descendant of Sayyad Hasan Dánishmand of Dáípúr. This Sayyad Hasan Dánishmand was himself a successor (*Khalifa*) of Mirán Hamíd-ud-dín Hazrat Muhammad Ghaus Gwáliyári. By chance. Mír Muazz-ud-dín paid a visit to Kudrat 'Ali Khán's tent. Mír Mahbúb 'Alam, through the said Khán, had struck up a friendship with Sayyad Muazz-ud-dín, and in conversation he had learnt that he was a cousin of Mír Hisám-ud-dín, and was further his devoted friend. Accordingly, he asked Muazz-ud-dín to write a letter to Hisám-ud-dín, asking why he was throwing himself away in company with Ahmad Khán, who would soon be slain or captured ; that on reading the letter, he should at once desert alone to the other side, without caring for his property, which would be fully replaced. As soon as he joined he would, by God's grace, be presented to the Wazír, from whom he would receive a title and a grant of land revenue. Mír Muazz-ud-dín Khán, as requested, wrote a letter to the above effect, and made it over to Mír Mahbúb 'Alam. The latter also wrote letters from himself to all his acquaintances of Mau and Shamsábád, stating that he had interceded for them with the Wazír, who had promised to entertain them all in his own service, in token of which he had caused *shukkas* (notes) to be written to them, impressed with his own special seal. He prayed them to make no delay, but come over at once. Putting up together all the *parwánahs* and his own letters, he despatched them by a messenger in the Wazír's employ, under the charge of his own private servant, Bhái Khán, to Nawáb Ahmad Khán's camp.

Sáhib Dád Khán Khaṭak and Mír Mahbúb 'Alam had both been together in the service of Shamsheer Khán, chela, and from being together, a firm friendship had sprung up between them. They had two bodies but one heart. In fact it was in reliance on Sáhib Dád Khán that Mahbúb 'Alam had undertaken this affair. Bhái Khán, Khidmatgár, found the tent of Sáhib Dád Khán Khaṭak, and made over to him the whole of the *parwánahs* and letters. He then asked his way to the tent of Hisám-ud-dín, to whom he delivered the note from Mír Muazz-ud-dín Khán and demanded a reply. When Hisám-ud-dín had opened and read the letter, he sent a reply to the following effect: "You think I have got into a difficult position by espousing Nawáb Ahmad's Khán's cause. This idle thought you must put far from you, for one hundred thousand brave men, more or less, with their leaders, all carrying on their bodies their own grave clothes, are in the train of Ahmad Khán and prepared to conquer or to die. Now, to slay those who already believe themselves dead, is a task of extreme difficulty.

*Har kih dast-i-khweshtan az ján ba-shust*  
*Khúd ba-mánd, o dushman-i-khúd rá ba-khusht*  
*Murdah míyábad niját az dast-i-maut*  
*Zinda-há úrá namáyand jumla pusht.*

"Even if it were true that the Wazír would shortly slay or capture the Nawáb, I ask you one question:—Suppose that the Wazír were in danger from Ahmad Khán, and I wrote to you, requesting you to forsake the Wazír, and save your life by coming over to our side, I ask if you would not hold it your duty as a leader and a Sayyad to prefer death to disgrace? You would not forsake the Wazír, so what you would not do yourself, you should not advise others to do. I beg to be excused from obeying such a foolish request." This answer was made over to Bhái Khán, and he returned to Sáhib Dád Khán's tent. The latter's answer was as follows:—"I have distributed the *parwánahs* and letters; hereafter I will report the result. I object to keeping the messenger here, as it will get me into trouble, I therefore send him back." The messenger received these two letters and set out on his way back.

Now the thieves and plunderers among the Rohelas, who infested the camps of Ahmad Khán and Sa'dullah Khán, were unequalled in the arts of thieving and highway robbery. They were in the habit of hiding on the right and left of the batteries. At night they used to repair to the Wazír's camp, where they seized horses, camels and equipage of all sorts, with which they returned to their own camp. After disposing of the property, they

would return to their hiding-places. By chance, the carrier of the two letters passed close by where these robbers were concealed. The thieves seized him, and carrying him off to Nawáb Ahmad Khán's quarters, reported the matter. The Nawáb called in the arrested messenger and asked on what business he had come to the camp. The man, in a great fright of losing his life, told the whole story, as already related in detail. He ended by delivering up the two letters he was carrying back. When the Nawáb had looked at these two letters, he sent for Hisám-ud-dín. Hisám-ud-dín had already heard that the Afgháns had arrested the messenger and had carried him before the Nawáb.

On his reaching the presence, the Nawáb said to him, "O Hisám-ud-dín! who is this Muazz-ud-dín with whom you correspond?" Hisám-ud-dín replied, "Gracious Master! he is my brother." The Nawáb asked what he had written, and he answered that what he had written was lying before the Nawáb, there was no need to repeat it. Rustam Khán Bangash, Háji Sarfaráz Khán and Mustajáb Khán were present. Addressing them, the Nawáb said—"This Hisám-ud-dín is a man of noble race, who respects the salt he has eaten, see what a good answer he has written to his own brother." He then began to read the letter aloud to them. They were all loud in their expressions of praise. Then turning to Hisám-ud-dín, he said, "You have fully acted up to what I expected from you; please God, I will in time repay you for being thus true to your salt." Sending for Háfiz Rahmat Khán, Donde Khán, Mullá Sardár Khán, Fath Khán and Sayyad Ahmad, the Nawáb told them everything that had occurred. Their opinion was demanded. Sayyad Ahmad stated that his subordinates were posted everywhere from the foot of the hills down to Pílibhít, he would write telling them, that if any one from the camp passed, in an attempt to desert, they should without fail slay him and appropriate his goods. Then the five Rohelas left. The Nawáb directed Háji Sarfaráz Khán to turn the captured messenger out of the camp, which was done accordingly.

*Renewal of Negotiations, followed by peace.*

Affairs on the enemy's side were meanwhile as follows. Some Rájah of the west country had written to Mulhár Ráo and Ápá Sendhiá that Ahmad Sháh Durráni was on his march to help the Afgháns and had already crossed the Indus. He was reported to be advancing by rapid marches. This information caused great anxiety to the Mahratta leaders, and they assembled for consultation. They came to an unanimous determination and then proceeded to the Wazír. They reproached him for having concealed from them the report of Ahmad Sháh Durráni's approach.



They said he was aware of the state of both his own troops and of the Mahratta army, that they had become dispirited and hopeless from the difficulty of the task before them. Further, that owing to the effects of the hill water, death came on them unawares. As life is dear to all, a complete panic had arisen, and should the men hear that Ahmad Sháh was coming, they would begin to desert. It was for the Wazír to decide and for them to obey. The Wazír was thrown into great perplexity, and after a considerable pause he said he threw the responsibility of deciding upon them. The Mahrattas advised him to sheathe the sword and send off 'Ali Kuli Khán to Ahmad Khán with a message. He should say that, by the Emperor's orders, the Wazír drew back his hand from war; Ahmad Khán too should therefore respect the Emperor's word and make terms. Ahmad Khán should be allowed to retain the ancient territory, which had belonged to his father and brother, on condition of presenting a fine (*nazrána*) of 30,00,000 rupees. As security for the payment of this fine, he should be required to make over half the territory, till the whole of the money was paid. These proposals were agreed to by the Wazír, and he requested the Mahrattas to name one of their trusted agents to go with 'Ali Kuli Khán. Mulhár Ráo and Apá Sendhiá named Tántiá Gangádhar, their Diwán.\* The two messengers then departed.

But, unknown to the Wazír, the two Mahratta leaders had instructed Tántiá to inform Ahmad Khán, at a fitting opportunity, that they wished him to accept without quibble the terms to be named by 'Ali Kuli Khán. The aspect of affairs made this desirable, but they were still his well-wishers and they hoped he would depute his son to hold an interview with the Wazír. On reaching Ahmad Khán's camp, 'Ali Kuli Khán proposed that they should visit the Nawáb together. Gangádhar excused himself and said he would pay his respects the following day. 'Ali Kuli Khán went on to Ahmad Khán. After some ordinary conversation, business was begun, and 'Ali Kuli Khán delivered his message, mentioning that Gangádhar, the representative of the Mahrattas, would pay the Nawáb a visit the next day. Tántiá visited the Nawáb the following day, and the Rohela commanders were sent for. Mulla Sardár Khán was of opinion that the matter should be left in the hands of Mulhár Ráo and Apá Sendhiá. To this the Nawáb consented, 'Ali Kuli Khán and Tántiá Gangádhar were sent for, and Ahmad Khán said to them that out of a desire to satisfy those two Mahratta chiefs, he agreed to make over half his territory, till such time as the sum of thirty lakhs of rupees, the fine imposed by the Emperor, should be realized.

\* Apparently the same as Grant Duff's *Gangádhar Yeswent* (Bombay ed., pp. 338, 340). By the usage of the Dakhin, *Yeswent* would be his father's name. Grant Duff does not give him the epithet of *Tántia*.

Ahmad Khán then proceeded to 'Ali Kuli Khán's tent, and there he declared that it was only in obedience to the Emperor that he had consented to terms of peace. He sent for a secretary, and caused a letter to be written embodying the terms proposed by the Mahratta leaders. This letter he made over to Tántiá, telling him verbally that it was on his responsibility that the young Nawáb was permitted to go to the Wazír. One account states that the terms were engraved on two copper plates, which were interchanged between the Mahrattas and Ahmad Khán.

When Mahmúd Khán and Háfiz Rahmat Khán approached the Mahratta camp, the leaders, Mulhár Ráo, Apá Sendhiá, Paṭel Ráo, Antámán Gir and others came out to meet them. Next day Mulhár Ráo and Apá Sendhiá rode up to a short distance from the tents and sent on Tántiá Gangádhar to ask the visitors to come with them to the Wazír. After the interview was over, the Wazír ordered his quarter-master-general (Mír Manzil) to send on his tents, as he intended to march. Next morning the march commenced, and after some days they reached the banks of the Ganges. Then the Wazír directed Mulhár Ráo and Apá Sendhiá to proceed to Kanauj, while he went on to Lakhnau, taking with him Mahmúd Khán and Háfiz Rahmat Khán whom he proposed to dismiss, when the business had been settled. As directed, the Mahrattas crossed the Ganges and quartered themselves in Kanauj. But Gangádhar, their Diwán, was sent with the young Nawáb, at the head of ten thousand horse.

Soon after the departure of the opposing army, Nawáb Ahmad Khán and Nawáb Sa'dullah Khán, leaving their entrenchments in the hills, put up their tents where the Wazír had been encamped. Thence they marched by stages to Anwalah. In that town there was a halt of several days. Resuming his march, Ahmad Khan set out towards Farrukhábád—Ahmadnagar, where he soon arrived and entered the fort. The date of his return must have been some time in the early part of the year 1752.

During this time the Wazír had arrived at Lakhnau. Four or five days afterwards, he sent for the young Nawáb and Háfiz Rahmat Khán. First he bestowed on Mahmúd Khán a *khilá't* of seven pieces and made over to him a grant confirming his father's territory to him. He also conferred on him the title of Káim Jang. He then gave him leave to return to Farrukhábád. Háfiz Rahmat Khán also received a dress of honour. Then a grant was handed to Tántiá, making over half of Ahmad Khán's territory to the Mahrattas, till the Emperor's *nazarána* was paid, they receiving the country in satisfaction of the arrears of pay due to them by the Wazír.

Mahmúd Khán and Tántiá taking their leave marched westwards, and Háfiz Rahmat Khán started for Anwalah. When the young Nawáb drew

near to Kanauj, all the Mahrattas came out to meet him and prepared entertainments. After a stay of two days, he resumed his march to Farrukhábád. On reaching his destination he visited his father, and from him he received the house of Ja'far Khán as his dwelling. After this the Wazír came from Lakhnau to Kanauj; thence taking with him Mulhár Ráo and Apá Sendhiá, he moved by way of Itáwah towards Delhi.

Some time after this, Ahmad Khán sent Muhammad Jahán Khán to Delhi, to fetch his wife and family. Dulhin Begam accordingly returned to Farrukhábád. Then the Nawáb's brothers, brother's sons, and chelas, with their families, great and small, and all the ryots, returned each to his own place of abode in the different quarters of the city. Sáhib Begam, the widow of Káim Khán, also returned and took up her abode in the fort of Amethi; and Máliya Begam, the Bibí Sáhiba, occupied the Buland Mahal, which had formerly been in the possession of her son, Káim Khán.

*Ahmad Khán marries again.*

As the Nawáb's affairs were now prosperous, he gave himself up to amusement and pleasure and came to the determination to marry a new wife. His courtiers told him of a young girl who was, they considered, fitted to be his bride. A man of noble family by both parents, a descendant of Nawáb Khán Jahán Khán, who held high rank in the reign of Sháhjahán, had by unstable fortune been reduced to poverty. By accident he had taken up his abode in the town of Shamsábád. After a time, he had departed from this world, leaving a widow and a young daughter, named Khair-un-nissa. It so happened that Yáqút Khán, Khán Bahádúr, had obtained this girl from the widow and had adopted her as his own. She was still a virgin and living in the house of the deceased Khán. The Nawáb hearing this story fell in love with her without seeing her. He sent for her and placed her in the Khás Mahal; and, after the wedding preparations were made, he was married to her. From that time he never left her for a moment. These words were always on his lips—

*Sharáb do-sálah o ma'shúk sezdah sálah,  
Hamín bas ast baráe suhbat-i-saghír o kabír.*

"I like my wine two years old, and my mistress to be sixteen."

After a time, in the year 1171 H. (Sept. 1757 to Sept. 1758), a son was born to her and gifts were distributed to the poor. The Nawáb opened the Kúrán to search for the child's name. The letter D was the result. He then sent for astrologers and ordered them to draw up the child's horoscope. The name fixed upon was Daler Himmat Khán. An announcement of the event was sent to the Emperor with fitting gifts. There were great rejoicings

and for six days open entertainment continued. A wet-nurse named 'Aqila was appointed. In reply to the Nawáb's letter, the Emperor sent the fish dignity, with a title and a dress of honour, for the child. Ahmad Khán having erected a *Gulálbár* at the 'Idgáh, the child was placed in a *pálki* and sent out to it in state to receive the Emperor's gifts. The dress was put on the child, and he was invested with the title of Muzaffar Jang. Salutes were fired, gold and silver were given away, the *naubat* was beaten, and with joyful demonstrations they returned slowly to the fort. When the child was four years, four months and four days old, he was taught the Bism-illah and sent to school. He was made over to a tutor (*atálik*), and learned men were appointed to teach him. In a few years he finished his education, and then he began to be instructed by his father in state affairs.

*First visit of Gházi-ud-din Khán 'Imád-ul-mulk.*

During Ahmad Sháh Duráni's fifth expedition, in 1170 H. (26th Sept. 1756, 15th Sept. 1757), Gházi-ud-dín obtained his leave to raise a fine from the country between the Ganges and the Jamna. His object would appear to have been to force money from Shuja'-ud-daula, Nawáb Wazír of Audh. Accompanied by two princes of the Delhi house, Hidáyat Bakhsh, son of 'Alamgir II, and Mirzá Bábar, son of that Emperor's brother, 'Azuddín, and the Duráni troops under Ján Báz Khán, Gházi-ud-dín Khán proceeded to Farrukhábád. He had sent on his own troops under Mír Yahyá Khán, son of Zakariya Khán. Ahmad Khán came out to meet his visitors and presented appropriate presents. The army soon after crossed the Ganges and marched as far as the stream called the Garrah, on the boundary of the Audh territory. Shuja'-ud-daula, leaving Lakhnau, came out as far as Sándi and Páli, sixty-eight miles west of that city, in order to oppose the invaders. At length, by the good offices of Sa'dullah Khán Rohela, the matter was settled by a payment of five lakhs of rupees. On the 7th Shawál 1170 H. (25th June, 1757), Gházi-ud-dín Khán and the two princes re-entered Farrukhábád.

Meanwhile Ahmad Sháh Duráni had retreated rather suddenly from Mathura to Delhi; and there, on the recommendation of the Emperor, who complained of 'Imad-ul-Mulk, the Duráni king appointed Najíb Khán to be Amír-ul-Umrá, and left him in charge of the capital. 'Imad-ul-Mulk immediately retaliated by creating Ahmad Khán Amír-ul-Umrá, and by appointing him to the post of imperial Bakhshi.\* Gházi-ud-dín Khán then

\* It appears from the *Tárikh-i-Muzaffari* that this appointment was renewed by Sháh 'Alam. When, on the 5th Rajab 1175 H. (30th January, 1762), Shuja'-ud-daula was invested with the office of Wazír, Ahmad Khán was made fourth Bakhshi.

marched for Delhi, joined by some of Ahmad Khán's troops, and by the aid of the Mahrattas he speedily expelled Najíb Khán.

This visit must have laid the foundation for the friendship between Gházi-ud-dín Khán and Ahmad Khán, a friendship so strong that after his public life was over, the fallen Wazír found an asylum for at least nine years in Ahmad Khán's capital. We shall come to the details of his second visit further on.

*Ahmad Khán at the battle of Pánipat.*

When Ahmad Sháh Duráni entered India for the sixth time, in the year 1173 H. (25th Augt. 1759—13th Augt. 1760), Ahmad Khán went with the Rohela leaders to pay his respects to the invader. They were introduced to him at Koil on the 4th Zi'l Haj 1173, (18th July, 1760).\* The defeat of Dátáji Sendhiá took place shortly afterwards.

Ahmad Khán must have made more than a nominal submission to Ahmad Sháh, for we find him forwarding supplies to the camp under a large convoy. Holkar, who had escaped from the defeat, was near Agra and, hearing of this convoy, crossed the Jamna. He took or destroyed a great part of the supplies and then retired again across the Jamna. A body of Afgháns were, however, detached from their main army and, overtaking him by a prodigious march, routed his troops with great slaughter.

Ahmad Sháh, after moving across the Jamna, took up his quarters at Anúpshahr. After some time Shuja'-ud-daula was induced to give in his adherence. The local chroniclers assert that this was effected through Háfiz Rahmat Khán and Ahmad Khán. Soon Sadasheo Bháo arrived from the Dakhín with an immense army, under Jankoji, son of Apá Ji Sendhiá, Ibráhim Khán Gárdi, Mulhár Ráo and others, in order to avenge the defeat of Dátáji. On the 25th October, 1760, Ahmad Sháh marched from Anúpshahr and crossed the Jamna about twenty miles above Delhi. Ahmad Khán Ghálib Jang was present with a contingent of five thousand men. The Mahrattas proceeded to entrench themselves at Pánipat, and Ahmad Sháh encamped opposite them. Daily skirmishing, varied by one or two partial engagements, went on for more than two months, till the Mahratta supplies failing entirely, they were forced to risk a general action.

The story goes that Ahmad Sháh Duráni offered a reward of one rupee for every Mahratta head. Ten thousand horsemen were sent out daily to plunder villages and cut off supplies. These men used to capture any lagging groom, grass-cutter or petty dealer they came across and, producing the captive's head before the king, they received a rupee for each head. Hearing of this, Nawáb Ahmad Khán said to his *arz-begi* (chamberlain),

\* Life of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, p. 59.

Musharrif Khán, that he would give two rupees for each Mahratta brought in alive. The Duránis then began to bring in their prisoners alive. The Nawáb paid for each the sum of two rupees, and then at midnight he let them go free. On reaching the Bháo's camp, they were loud in their praises of Nawáb Ahmad Khán. Shuja'-ud-daula and Najib Khán reported this matter to the Duráni king, and from that day he was displeased with the Nawáb.

In order to augment this displeasure those two nobles also remarked that Ahmad Khán, although Amír-ul-Umra and Bakhshi of the Empire, had brought a very insignificant force. The Sháh made no reply. But Sháh Wali Khán, his Wazír, and himself of the Bangash clan, who happened to be present, sent for Ahmad Khán. On his appearing, the Wazír rose to greet him and gave him a place by his side. Then turning to him, he said, "O Ghálib Jang! you are one of the great nobles of Hindustan, yet you have brought with you a very small force. What is the reason?" Now Ahmad Khán had already heard, through Jang Báz Khán Bangash, of the evil speeches of his enemies. In reply to Sháh Wali Khán, the Wazír, he said that he had left his *bakhshi* at Farrukhábád with a large force to guard his house; for Gobind Pandit had advanced from Bundelkhand with three thousand men and, having crossed the Jamna, was encamped on the banks of that river. If he had left no troops behind, his capital and his house would have been plundered. Further, with this same small army he had once defeated Safdar Jang and his immense force, including Suraj Mall, Rájah Himmat Singh and other Rájahs. If he had wished, he could have then marched on Delhi, but refrained out of respect for the presence of the Emperor. Sháh Wali Khán said he had already heard in Kábul reports of what was referred to. The Nawáb ended by saying that the quality of his army, though it was small, would be seen in the day of battle.

Opposed to Ahmad Khán's battery was that of Ibráhím Khán Gárdí\* who commanded twelve thousand regular infantry. One dark night, this Ibráhím Khán gave orders that, as Ahmad Khán's battery was weaker than that of any other noble, he would at that point make a night attack. In the last watch of the night Ibráhím Khán's troops attempted to surprise the bat-

\* *Gárdí* was the name given to the regular infantry disciplined after the European manner. (Grant Duff, p. 315.) The translator of the "Seir-Mutáqharín" (Calcutta, 1789, Vol. III, p. 152), says that Ibráhím Khán was a very thin black man, much pitted with the small-pox, who had in his early years been Chobdar to a French officer at Pondicherry. He rose in the French service to be a Commandant of their disciplined sepoy. He then went over with his men to the Mahrattas and took service with Sada Sheo Bháo.

tery. Ahmad Khán's guns were, however, all in order, and many had iron shields (? = *chadaren*). As it was the cold season, there were watch-fires here and there, at which the camp-followers and labourers were warming themselves. These men, hearing the tramp of horses' hoofs, called out to each other that the Mahrattas were on them. They snatched up some lighted wood from the night fires in pieces of broken pottery and threw them on the port holes of the guns and "*chádar*," which all went off together. A number of the enemy were slain and the rest fled. On Ahmad Kháu's side not a soul was hurt. All this was done without the Nawáb being disturbed. At dawn the Durráni king visited the field of battle. Ahmad Khán went out to meet him, when he said that he had now seen, with his own eyes, proof of that bravery of which he had heard. He took off his *jigha*\* and made a present of it to the Nawáb. After that his enemies were abashed and silenced.

On the day of the great battle (7th January, 1761), Ahmad Khán was directed to guard the women, his force being so small. The Nawáb refused indignantly, saying, that such work was fit for eunuchs, he would fight in the front. The Abdáli king then sent him to the right wing. It was here that the first attack was made, and after a contest in which Ibráhim Khán Gárdi was wounded, the Mahratta gained the advantage. In this emergency Ahmad Khán sent his *darogha*, Musharrif Khán, to Ahmad Sháh asking for aid. When the messenger reached the king, Shuja'-ud-daula and Najíb Khán stated that the enemy was not opposed in great force to Nawáb Ahmad Khán, that the need for reinforcement was greater with 'Ináyat 'Ali Khán, son of Háfíz Rahmat Khán. When Musharrif Khán reported that no reply had been given by the king, he was sent back with a still more pressing message. At length two divisions were ordered out, and these having strengthened the right wing, the Mahrattas were gradually driven back. Biswás Ráo having been killed, Sadasheo Bhao fled, all became confusion, and by two o'clock in the day the field was won.

Dáim Khán, chela, used to relate that when Ahmad Khán was sent for after the battle to receive a *khillat*, he sat down by the entrance of the tent. Shuja'-ud-daula took up the Nawáb's sword and pulled it out of its scabbard. There was no edge on it, the Nawáb using it in a particular way. Shuja'-ud-daula in a mocking manner said—"Are you a commander of Fifty-two thousand and own such a sword as this?" The Nawáb replied, "The edge of this sword was felt by your father well." He referred to the defeat and flight of Safdar Jang. Nawáb Najíb Khán, Rohela, who was a great friend of Shuja'-ud-daula, then asked for the sword and, having looked at it, praised it ironically and begged it as a gift. Nawáb Ahmad Khán

\* A gold ornament worn in the turban—" *Qanoon-e-Islam*," 2nd ed. App. III, p. x.

told him to take it. Najib Khán said, "Steel should not be received for nothing;" so he sent for a *paisa* (copper coin) and, putting it on both hands, offered it with mock respect to Nawáb Ahmad Khán. The Nawáb taking it up said, "It is right and proper that you should offer me a *nazar*, for "you were once in my father's service." This was true, for Najib Khán began life as a *Jama'dár* on five rupees a month under Muhammad Khán Ghazanfar Jang and then entered the service of the elder Gházi-ud-dín Khán on seven rupees a month. The first interview was accorded to Nawáb Ahmad Khán, and by special permission he was allowed to take in with him three persons to hold him up. They were Fakhr-u-l-daula Bakhshi, Mihrbán Khán Diwán and Dáim Khán. Sháh Wali Khán, the Wazír, being of the same clan, had recommended Ahmad Khán, and in this way he obtained the first entry. When all the other *amírs* were admitted, the king gave Ahmad Khán the order to sit down.

#### *Visitors to Farrukhábád.*

During the latter part of Ahmad Khán's life, from 1759 to 1771, there were a number of distinguished visitors to Farrukhábád. Many of the Delhi nobles sought shelter there, on the breaking up of the imperial court and the occupation of the capital by the Mahrattas. When 'Abdullah Khán, son of 'Ali Muhammad Khán, Rohela, attempted to assassinate Háfiz Rahmat Khán, it was to Farrukhábád that he fled, and it was through Ahmad Khán's intercession that he obtained pardon, and the parganah of Aujhání was granted for his subsistence.\* And, owing to the grant of the parganahs of Shikohábád, Phaphond and Itáwah, made to the Rohelas by Ahmad Sháh on his departure from India, Háfiz Rahmat Khán in 1762 passed through Farrukhábád with his son, on his way to visit his new territory.† Again, after the battle of Bak-sar on Oct. 23rd, 1764, Shuja'-ud-daula came for a time to Farrukhábád. Ahmad Khán could at one time boast of having two ex-Wazírs of the Empire encamped at opposite gates of his city—'Imád-ul-Mulk at one and Shuja'-ud-daula at the other gate.

The most important group of visitors, however, was composed of Gházi-ud-dín Khán 'Imád-ul-Mulk, his relations and friends, who for many years found an asylum with, and lived upon the bounty of, Nawáb Ahmad Khán. Of each of these we proceed to give such details as are known.

#### 1. *Gházi-ud-dín 'Imád-ul-Mulk.*

Mír Shaháb-ud-dín was the son of Mír Muhammad Sháh, entitled Gházi-ud-dín Khán Firúz Jang, eldest son of the celebrated Nizám-ul-Mulk Asaf Jáh. His mother was a daughter of the well known Wazír,

\* Life of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, pp. 46, 47.

† Life of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, pp. 67, 77, 79.



Kamr-ud-dín Khán 'Imád-ud-daula. 'Imád-ul-Mulk's career from 1752 to 1760\* is sufficiently well known. From the date, however, when he ceased to play a prominent part, we are told nothing more of him than that he took refuge in one of Suraj Mall's fortresses. In one work we are told that he was found by Colonel Goddard at Surat in 1790 ;† and that, by order of the Supreme Government, he was sent off to Mecca, whence he never returned. How far this statement is correct will presently be shewn. The *Khizána 'Amira*, which was written in 1762-1763, naturally concludes 'Imád-ul-Mulk's story by leaving him hiding in the Bhartpur country. But there can be no doubt that his family and friends were sent to Farrukhábád, and that from at least the year 1762 he himself lived there constantly. The quarter of the city where he lived, near the Kádírí gate, is still known as the Cháoni or encampment of Gházi-ud-dín Khán. The income of Pargana Bilhor, said to amount to Rs. 12,000 a month, was allotted to him by Ahmad Khán during his stay in Farrukhábád.

In 1771, when Ahmad Khán died, and the Emperor Sháh 'Alam was approaching Farrukhábád, Gházi-ud-dín Khán, fearing vengeance for the murder of Alamgir II, the Emperor's father, thought it advisable to quit that city. He left his relations and servants there and started with a few faithful retainers. We do not know how the interval was passed, but the *Ma'asír-ul-Umrá* says, that in 1187 H. (March 1773—March 1774), he appeared in Málwá, where the Mahrattas gave him several mahals for his support. We learn from the *Tárikh-i-Muzaffari* that he was found by Colonel Goddard at Surat in February 1780. Thence he was despatched on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Returning by Basrah, he travelled to Kábul and Kandahár, where he visited the ruler, Taimur Sháh, son of Ahmad Sháh Durráni. At that time the prince Ahsan Bakht, son of the Emperor Sháh 'Alam, who, after the blinding of his father by Ghulám Kádír Khán (June 1788), had escaped from Delhi, and had wandered homeless through Rajputána, past Jainagar, Bikáner, and Multán, arrived at Taimur Sháh's court. Out of regard for him as a descendant of the great Taimur, as a relation of Sháh 'Alam, and as a guest, to whom the rights of hospitality were due, the king treated him with consideration. He sent some of his own troops to accompany the prince and 'Imád-ul-Mulk towards Multán, promising to march soon in person for the conquest of Hindústán. Shortly after this the king died‡ and was succeeded by his son, Zamán Sháh, who

\* Elphinstone, 651—659.

† A mistake for 1780. See Wilson's Mill, VI, 37 note, from which the statement is taken.

‡ Taimur Sháh died on the 7th Shuwwál 1207 H. 18th August 1793. (*Tárikh-i-Ahmad* of 'Abd-ul-Karim.)

was detained at home by his own rebellious subjects. When Ahsan Bakht and 'Imád-ul-Mulk reached Sindh, the Kábul troops, hearing of the death of Taimur Sháh, returned to their home. 'Imád-ul-Mulk and Násir Khán Bilúch went to Baháwalpur. In time a quarrel arose between the prince and 'Imád-ul-Mulk, owing to many of the prince's companions being mean and base fellows. The prince remained in Multán, where he became afflicted with melancholy madness and passed the rest of his days there out of his senses. Meanwhile 'Imád-ul-Mulk found his way to 'Ali Bahádur Mahratta, son of Shamshe Bahádur, who had an army and some territory in Bundelkhand. From him he obtained a grant of fifty-two villages, which form the petty state, now known as Báoni, measuring about fifteen miles across each way. It lies about 12 miles east of Kálpi, in a bend of the river Jamna.\* 'Imád-ul-Mulk died at Kálpi on the 10th Rabi II, 1215 H. (1st September 1800), when his age must have been about sixty-eight. According to the orders contained in his will he was buried at the shrine of Shekh Faríd Shakkarganj at Pákpāṭan.† His son, Nasír-ud-daula, was in possession when the British occupied Bundelkhand in 1803, and to him the grant was confirmed by the Governor-General's letter of the 24th December 1806. The further history of the family will be found in the *Gazetteer*, under the article *Báoni*.

By 'Umdah Begam, daughter of Mu'in-ul-Mulk, the son of Kamr-ud-dín Khán, who was Wazír from 1721 to 1749, he had one son called 'Ali Jáh; and by Gunná Begam, daughter of 'Ali Kuli Khán, Daghistáni, poetically styled Wálih, he had one son, Nasír-ud-daula. By another wife he had a son, Ghulám Jaláni Khán, who died at Delhi from eating ice. The *Má'asír-ul-Umra* tells us that he had a large family, and one of his sons finding his way to Haidarábád was, on account of his relationship to the reigning house, made a Panj Hazari, with the title of Hamíd-ud-daula and a money allowance.

Gunná Begam, 'Imád-ul-Mulk's wife, came to Farrukhábád with him. Herself a poet, she was the daughter of the poet, 'Ali Kuli Khán, known as Wálih. Her tomb is at Núrábád, sixty-three miles south of Agra and fifteen miles north of Gwaliyár. It bears the short inscription "Alas! Gunná Begam" 1187 H. (25th March, 1773—14th March, 1774.)‡

## 2. *Nawáb Khádim Hussain Khán.*

He had a house near that of Nawáb 'Azim Khán, and when he died he was buried in that house. He received a *jágir* of Rs. 15,000. After

\* Gaz. N. W. P. I, 384 and Aitchison's *Treaties* III, 250, under the word BAONI.

† In the Panjab, ten miles west of the Rávi—Thornton, 757.

‡ *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. II, 397.

the death of Siráj-ud-daula, Názim of Bengal, in June 1757, he had obtained a grant of the Purinaya Subah, on condition of recovering it at his own expense. He had been in the service of a former governor there, Sayyad Ahmad Khán. He was not really Mir Ja'far's nephew, as he claimed to be. He was the son of Sayyad Khádim 'Ali Khán by a Kashmiri wife, and his father afterwards married a sister of Mir Ja'far (Seir Mutaqherin, II, 9, 10, 11.)

### 3. *Nawáb Mír Jumla, 'Abídullah Khán, Sadr-us-Sadr.*

He was the son of Mír Jumla Farrukhsiyari, and brother of Shariyat-ullah Khán. This latter, on the dismissal of 'Azim-ullah Khán, was promoted to be Sadr. He died on the 2nd Rajab, 1155 H. (24th August 1742), and on the 2nd Zi'l Ka'd, 1156 H. (7th December, 1743), 'Abídullah Khán, was appointed to the vacant office. On the arrival at Farrukhábád of this Nawáb, Wali-ullah saw him and praises his great learning. After the death of Nawáb Ahmad Khán, he left Farrukhábád and went to live at some place where he died. He received Rs. 500 a month.

### 4. *Nawáb Yahya Khán.*

He was the eldest son of Khán Bahádur Zakariya Khán, the *Muhtasib* of Delhi. He turned *fakir* and was then styled Yahya Sháh. He was buried at Yahyaganj, a village near Shekhpur on the Cawnpur road or, as some say, in Kamalganj. Khwájah Dáud Khán was a son of Yahya Khán, by the daughter of 'Itimád-ud-daula Kamr-ud-din Khán Wazir, and his mother, being the aunt of 'Imád-ul-Mulk, was known as the Khálá Begam. Dáud Khán died in Farrukhábád. Sháh Nawáz Khán, the younger brother of Yahya Khán, died at Lahor. His son Mirzá Ján and his friend, Maulvi Rahím Yár Khán, Bukhári, came with the others to Farrukhábád, where they both remained till they died. Mír Mughal, a son of Rahím Yár Khán, became náib to Nawáb Muzaffar Jang, and was afterwards exiled.

### 5. *Nawáb Salím Khán.*

His house was behind the Tikona Thána in the city. It was afterwards inhabited by Faiz-ullah, a *Khawás* of Nawáb Muzaffar Jang, and his descendants in 1839 still lived there.

### 6. *Nawáb Bú 'Ali Khán.*

He had been Subahdár of Bengal. He was paternal uncle's son (cousin) to Nawáb 'Ali Jáh, *i. e.*, Kásim 'Ali Khán, Subahdár of Bengal. There is a *Katra* (or Bazar) Bú 'Ali Khán, probably named after him. He left Farrukhábád in 1771, on Ahmad Khán's death.

### 7. *Choṭe Sáhib.*

8. *Bare Sáhib.*

*Bare Sáhib* was Kamr-ud-dín Khán Wazír's sister and *Chote Sáhib* was his widow. They had a house in Nawáb 'Abd-ul-Majíd Khán's *garhi*. They received jointly Rs. 500 a month. Once a year Nawáb Ahmad Khán visited them, when they presented him with trays of jewels. Miyan La'l, guardian (*atálik*) to Muzaffar Jang was their eunuch (*khojá*). They both died in Farrukhábád, and their graves are behind Pandit Daya Rám's house, in Muhalla Cháoni, within the *bágh* of Shuja't Khán, *Khansámán* to Nawáb Ahmad Khán. The place is called the *Madrassa*. Miyan La'l is buried at their feet. Mír Babádur 'Ali is careful to point out that their names never received the feminine termination in long *í*.

9. *Hakím Sayyad Imám-ud-dín Khán.*

Son of Sayyad Gharib-ullah, son of Sháh Ghulam Muhi-ud-dín, a native of Newatní,\* Bángarmau Moháni. The Hakím lived in Mohalla Lohái and received Rs 500 a month.

10. *Hakím Shafáe Khán.*

They say that Ján 'Ali Khán, chela, who built the *masjid* at the gate of the fort, had a great affection for this Hakím, with whom he exchanged turbans. When the Hakím went away to Delhi, Ján 'Ali Khán asked him for a prescription by which his strength would remain unimpaired. The Hakím answered, that the following was the essence (*atr*) of all his books. "At the morning meal, take one quarter seer of kid's flesh and "one chiták *ghí*, eat it cooked as you are used to ; then in the evening pre-  
"pare washed *másh dál* and the same quantity of *ghí*." Ján 'Ali Khán eat this food all his life, and his strength did not diminish.

11. *Nawáb Násir Khán.*

He had been Subahdár of Kábul at the time of Nádír Sháh's invasion (1151 H.=1739). He lived in Mohalla Kandhái, where Núroz 'Ali Khán, son of Sarfaráz Mahal, lived in 1839. His allowance was Rs. 3000 a month. He died in Farrukhábád and was buried in the Haiyát Bágh, near the tomb of Nawáb Muhammad Khán Ghazanfar Jang. He died before 1771.

They say that the eldest son of Nawáb Násir Khán was in the service of Shuja'-ud-daula and received a large sum monthly. One day Shuja'-ud-daula told him to send to Farrukhábád for his father, as he wished to appoint him his *náib*. Násir Khán refused the offer. He held the three thousand rupees he received from Ahmad Khán to be equal to three lakhs ; for Ahmad Khán, when he went to visit him, rose to his feet to receive him. But if he became *náib* to Shuja'-ud-daula, some day when he rode up to his gateway, the

\* A small town, two miles south-west of Mohán in the Unáo district.—Oudh Gaz. III. 16, II. 500, and I. 224.

menials would tell him that the Nawáb Sáhib was taking his rest, and he must therefore wait. Then from that day, though alive, he knew he would wish himself dead. Unable to persuade him, his son went back to Faizábád.

By another wife, Násir Khán had two sons (1) Ya'kút Khán, (2) Muhib 'Ali Khán. The first lived up to the time of Shaukat Jang (1813—1823), and he always read aloud in the *Imámbára*. Muhib 'Ali Khán's son was in 1839 a messenger in the employ of Kannú Lál, merchant. Such is God's will, nor can any dependence be placed upon fortune—the grandson of an Imperial Governor had become the servant of a Baniya on a few rupees a month.

#### 12. *Háji 'Abdullah Khán.*

He lived opposite the house of Mir Roshan 'Ali, an employé of Muzaffar Jang's.

#### 13. *Mirzá Aslam Beg "Háthi nashín" of Delhi.*

He lived close to Háji 'Abdullah Khán (No. 12) and he received five hundred rupees a month. His son, Mirza Khair-ullah Beg, was a poet and a man of parts. On his father's death, he became a *fakir*, when he passed by the name of Kamtar Sháh. His poetical name was *Kamtar*. He it was who always read aloud in Nawáb Amín-ud-daula's *Imámbára*; he lived at the gate of that Nawáb's old fort. He died in 1240 H. (26th August, 1824—16th August, 1825.)

#### 14. *Nawáb Haidar Kuli Khán.*

Formerly Mir Atash or Commandant of Ordnance and Subahdár of Gujráat. He lived in a line with the house of Mir Roshan 'Ali: his allowance was Rs. 500 a month. His grandson, Mirza Zahíne, a disciple of Maulvi Wali-ullah, was alive till Nawáb Shaukat Jang's time (1813—1823), and his (Mirza Zahíne's) sons, Mirza Sádiq and Mirza Ja'far, were in 1839 among the Nawáb Rais' sowárs. The grandmother of Mirza Zahíne, Gumáni Begam, got old Amethi, on the river, between the city and Fatgharh, from Nawáb Muzaffar Jang as *nánkár*, with the land occupied by the fort of Zu'lfikárgarh, since resumed by the English. Ahmadi Begam, granddaughter of Haidar Kuli Khán, was still living in 1839 in the *Chíní Wálá* ward, with her sons, Mirzá Haidar and Mirzá Muhammad.

#### 15. *Nawáb Ja'far Kuli Khán.*

Own brother to Haidar Kuli Khán (No. 14). He died and was buried at Farrukhábád.

#### 16. *Rájah Jugal Kishor.*

A Bhát by caste. He is said to have spent a fabulous sum at Delhi upon the marriage of his son, the earthen *hugqa* stands (*gurguri*) costing

many thousands of rupees. He was the agent at Delhi of Mahábat Jang, Subahdár of Bengal. We have already seen him employed by Safdar Jang to carry out the resumption of the Farrukhábád territory after the death of Káim Khán.

Once Nawáb Ahmad Khán, Gházi-ud-dín Khán Wazír, and Rájah Jugal Kishor were returning to Farrukhábád from a visit to Makhanpur.\* Their three elephants were moving in one line. In the plain of Nanauwah, on the road from Yákútganj to the city, close to where the central jail now stands, the Rájah got down for a necessary purpose, when the elephant ran at him and killed him. All his servants set up weeping and wailing; while Nawáb Ahmad confiscated the whole of the property to his own use. In this affair, Nawáb Ahmad Khán and Gházi-ud-dín had given the hint to the Rájah's *Mahaut*, Jugal Kishor having one day been wanting in proper respect to those two nobles. No doubt Ahmad Khán also bore him a grudge for the part he had played in Safdar Jang's time. Jugal Kishor's grandson, Shítábú, was still alive in 1839, his house was in Mohalla Núnhai, and at the Holi festival, in the drama (*swáng*) of the Jogís, he used to dress as a female mendicant and dance.

#### 17. *Nawáb Jalál-ud-daula, called Mír Sulaimán.*

His house was in Mohalla Nitganja. He was a great favourite of 'Imád-ul-Mulk, and they attribute to his bad advice the blinding of Ahmad Sháh, and the murders of 'Alamgir II, Intizám-ud-daula Khán-khanán, and 'Aqabat Mahmúd Khán. He received Rs. 400 a month, and left Farrukhábád with his patron.

#### 18. *Nawáb Ra'áyat Khán.*

He was the son of Zahir-ud-daula 'Azímullah Khán (Subahdár of Málwa, and afterwards Sadr), son of Ra'áyat Khán, younger brother of Muhammad Amín Khán. Ra'áyat Khán's mother was Núr-un-nissa Begam, sister of 'Itimád-ud-daula Kamr-ud-dín Khán. Ra'áyat Khán married a cousin, the daughter of Kamr-ud-dín Khán. He left Farrukhábád upon the death of Ahmad Khán in 1771. The *Túríkh-i-Muzaffari* also mentions a brother, Kutbe Khán, as being at Farrukhábád (year 1176).

#### 19. *Mír Fakhr-ud-dín Khán.*

Commonly known as Nawáb Sháh Jiú. He was the son of 'Itimád-ud-daula Kamr-ud-dín Khán, Wazír, and husband of the daughter of Muzaffar Khán, brother of Šamsám-ud-daula, Khán Daurán Khán. He received Rs. 1000 a month, and on the death of Ahmad Khán he returned to Delhi, where he died.

\* In Parganah Bilhor of the Cawnpúr district.

20. *Nawáb Ahmad 'Ali Khán.*

He was sister's son of Sayyad Sádát Khán Farrukhsiyari, who after the death of Asaf Jáh was for a short time Amír-ul-Umrá, with the title of Zu'lfikár Jang, his nephew being made Bakhshi of the Aḥadís. Ahmad 'Ali Khán lived in Mohalla Ismá'ilganj in the house known as the Rájah's. His allowance was Rs. 300 a month; he died at Farrukhábád.

21. *Nawáb 'Abd-ul-Báki Khán.*

Son of Ḥamid-ud-dín, Namícha, 'Alamgírí. He lived in Mohalla Nitganja in a hired house. He was very friendly to Sayyad Ahmad 'Ali (father of Muftí Wali-ullah) and kind to Wali-ullah himself. When Sháh 'Alam returned to Delhi, the Nawáb followed him and died there. His sons were friends of Wali-ullah, being of the same age. One, Mirzá Mughal, was a poet.

22. *Nawáb Daráb Khán.*

Son of Tarbíyat Khán, a noble of Muhammad Sháh's time (1718—1749). He died and was buried at Farrukhábád.

23. *Sayyad Ḥashmat 'Ali Khán.*

In the reign of Muhammad Sháh (1718—1749) he was the agent at the Delhi Court for Nawáb Aṣaf Jáh Nizám-ul-Mulk. Wali-ullah visited him several times. He was turned out of Farrukhábád in the days of Bakhshi Fakhr-ud-daula (1771—1773).

24. *Manavvar Khán.*

The younger brother of Nawáb Roshan-ud-daula Bahadur Sarwar (?). The *Tárikh-i Muzaḥfari* also names a son of the latter, Anwar Khán, as present at Farrukhábád (year 1176).

25. *Ghiyás-ud-dín Khán.*

He was the son of Saíd-ud-dín Khán, Mír Atash in the reign of Muhammad Sháh.

26. *Bahádur Khán.*

Son of Nawáb A'zim Khán.

27. *Ghulám Hussain Khán.*

His name is given in the *Tárikh-i-Muzaḥfari*. He was the grandson of Mu'in-ud-daula Dildaler Khán Naṣír Jang, son of Mír Yahya Khán Munshi (?).

28. *Hakím Shekh Muhammad Fakhr-ud-dín 'Abbási.*

He had been *darogha* of the household (*itbá'-khána*) to Kamr-ud-dín Khán, Wazír. He got Rs. 150 a month.

29. *Hakím Ruh 'Ali Khán.*30. *Hakím Muhammad 'Ali Khán.*

At this period many other jagirdárs, pensioners and dancing women from Delhi took refuge in Farrukhábád. The wakils of the following rulers also attended there upon Gházi-ud-dín Khán 'Imád-ul-Mulk, *viz.*, those of the Rájah of Jainagar, the Rájah of Narwar, the Raṭhaur Rájah, Rájah of Jodhpur, the Ját Rájah (Súraj Mall) of Díg and Kumer,\* Rájah Chatarpat of Gohad, the Rájahs of Bundelkhand, *i. e.*, of Pannah, Orchha, Datiya, Seonḡha and Chanderi, the Rájah of Koṭah-Bondi, of Sháhábád-Kurokí, of Bhadáwar-Jagammanpur and others.†

*Shuja'ud-daula and Sháh 'Alam attempt to attack Farrukhábád.‡*

When Sháh 'Alam returned from his unsuccessful campaign against Bengal, Shuja'ud-daula moved out to meet him as far as Saráe Rájá, near the Karannasa, in the Benares district, and conducted him thence to Jájmau, by way of Jhúsi and Allahábád. After the rains, in Rabi 1175 H. (October 1761), the Emperor moved to Kálpi and thence to Jhánsi. On their return to Allahábád, some time in the year 1176 H. (23rd July, 1762—12th July, 1763), Shuja'ud-daula persuaded the Emperor to join him in a campaign against Ahmad Khán of Farrukhábád.

Three reasons are assigned for this attack on Nawáb Ahmad Khán. The first, which was no doubt used to influence the Emperor, was as follows. The news-writer sent letters to Shuja'ud-daula, informing him of Ahmad Khán's daily life and stating that he rode in a *pálki*, that he caused elephants to fight, that he had established a *Gulál bári* or royal pavilion, and had assumed other privileges of royalty. Shuja'ud-daula writhed like a snake when he read this, and at once he made a minute report to the Emperor, adding that to mount the throne was the only step, which now remained for Ahmad Khán to take. The Emperor, being incensed at Ahmad Khán's supposed presumption, readily agreed to join in the campaign.

A second reason, and probably a better-founded one, is said to have been a quarrel over the occupation of the territory evacuated by the Mah-

\* Both in Bhartpur territory, the former 20 and the latter 10 miles north of Bhartpur.

† This list is taken from Sháh Hisám-ud-dín's book.

‡ Wali-ullah p. 44, *Lauh-i-Tárikh*, Hisám-ud-dín, 353, *Tárikh-i-Muzaffari*, 1176 H. *Amád-us-Sá'dat*, pp. 88-90, Life of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, p. 78.



rattas, after the great defeat at Panipat in January 1761. The Mahrattas withdrew from the Duáb, and Ahmad Khán took possession of all the parganahs ever held by his family, and perhaps of some to which he had no claim. On the other hand, Shuja'-ud-daula wished to maintain him within the limits fixed by the treaty of 1752 and asserted his own right to all the recovered territory.

Another motive, which acted strongly on Shuja'-ud-daula, was the shelter given to Umráo Gir Gusáin. Umráo Gir had fled from Lakhnau with Hatya, a favourite dancing girl of the Nawáb's, and came to Farrukhábád with his twelve thousand fighting Nágás.\* He encamped in a *bágh* near the city, and was introduced through Fakhr-ud-daula, Bakhshi. The Nawáb determined to retain the Gusáin in his service, although his advisers tried to deter him, pointing out that the Gusáin's contingent was too powerful, nor had they money to pay him. Ahmad Khán said he could not turn away a supplicant, a thing he had never done. Umráo Gir was sent to Kásganj to Roshan Khán, chela, (known as Miyan Sáhib), then 'Amil of the eight and a half maháls.

Himmat Bahádur wrote to his brother, remonstrating with him for leaving the master who had brought them up and joining a ruler whose

\* Anúp Gir Himmat Bahádur and his younger brother, Umráo Gir, were chelas of the Rájah Indar Gir (or Gaj Indar Gir) whom we met before at the siege of Allahábád (p. 79) and elsewhere. The original abode of this Gusáin was in the jungle near Moth, in Bundelkhand, thirty-two miles from Jhansi. About 1744-5 he acquired many villages in that Parganah (*Gaz.* I. 550). In 1750 he entered Safdar Jang's service, and in 1752 he was killed near Delhi. Himmat Bahadur (Anúp Gir) died in 1804 at the age of seventy, when Narindar Gir, his son by Fakhr-un-Nissa Begam of Lakhnau, was still a minor. By article 3 of the Agreement, dated the 4th September, 1803, made with Himmat Bahádur, it appears that Rájah Umráo Gir, his brother, was then in confinement at Lakhnau, on account of a conspiracy against the Nawáb Wazír's government.—Aitchison, II, 225, ed. 1876. By a grant, dated the 1st March, 1806, the assignments in Bundelkhand were exchanged for a territory in the Cawnpur district, named Rasdhán, about forty-three miles south-west of Cawnpur city, in Parganah Sikandrah, which lies in the south-west corner of the district between the Jamna and the Sengar. This estate yielded a revenue of Rs. 1,357,000 a year. The families of Umráo Gir and Kanchan Gir also received pensions (*Gaz.* I. 41.) On Narindar Gir's death in 1840, the estate was sequestrated in payment of debts by order of the 12th May, 1841. The debts had barely been cleared off when the mutiny of 1857 broke out. Jai Indar Gir (son by Lálán Begam) and Padam Indar Gir (son by Rúba Begam) became rebels, and two-thirds of the parganah was confiscated. The two brothers were given an allowance of Rs. 100 a month. Jai Indar Gir died in June or July 1876; the other brother survives. One-third of the income, amounting to Rs. 28,780 a year, is paid to the widow of Narindar Gir, known as the Ráj Rani, who for the last thirty years has lived in the city of Cawnpur.

income was not sufficient to provide for the pay of his force. Umráo Gir replied that, to vex Shuja'-ud-daula, he intended to stay a few months, and if by his aid the Nawáb obtained nothing, he should not ask for pay. Himmat Bahádúr showed the letter to Shuja't 'Ali Khán, chela, known as Miyan 'Ise, and he told Shuja'-ud-daula. The latter wrote an angry letter to Ahmad Khán, ordering him to turn out his "thief" at once. Ahmad Khán in reply dared Shuja'-ud-daula to do his worst; he had not sent for Umráo Gir, who had come of his own accord; and never yet had he turned out any refugee. Shuja'-ud-daula brooded over this answer, and for some months nothing more was heard of the matter. Meanwhile Nawáb Ahmad Khán's chief men urged Umráo Gir to go away, for if anything happened, all the world would say that he had been the ruin of the Bangash family. Umráo Gir listened to them and prepared to go away. Ahmad Khán declared that not a hundred Shuja'-ud-daulas should drag him away did he wish to remain; at the same time, if he desired to go, his feet were not chained. Umráo Gir started in the direction of Agra, but had gone no more than one stage when he was recalled, Shuja'-ud-daula's approach having been reported to the Nawáb.

Shuja'-ud-daula had heard that at Farrukhábád there was only a small force of four or five thousand men, the remainder being scattered about in the parganahs. He therefore gave out that he was marching on a *mulk-gíri*, or expedition to recover revenue from refractory zamindars. Part of the army advanced up the Duáb, plundering on its way the town of Musednagar on the Jumna. Head quarters were for a time at the Sarái of Khwája Pul.\* On his side, Shuja'-ud-daula left Faizábád and proceeded leisurely through his own dominions till he reached the ferry of Nánámau in parganah Bilhor. The army crossed over and proceeded to Kanauj, while Shuja'-ud-daula and the Emperor took up their quarters at a bungalow and *bágh* in Makanpur, called the Madár-bári, belonging to Ahmad Khán. The villages in the neighbourhood of both Kanauj and Makanpur were given up to plunder.

The news writers had kept Nawáb Ahmad Khan under the impression that this army had set out for "*Mulk-gíri*." It was not till Shuja'-ud-daula arrived at Makanpur and began to ask how long it took to reach Farrukhábád, that its destination was disclosed. Rájah Gangá Singh of Chachendí,† a great friend of Nawáb Ahmad Khán, then with Shuja'-ud-daula, determined to send a letter of warning. He disguised his messenger as a *fakir* and hid the note in the man's shoe. His orders were

\* In Parganah Sikandrah, some fourteen miles south-west of Jhijnhak railway station.

† See p. 377, Vol. XLVII, 1878.

to deliver it to the Nawáb, in whatever place or in whatever condition he might find him. The messenger started off secretly, and it was past midnight when, reaching the gateway of Ahmad Khán's house, he reported himself to Musharraf Khán, *darogha* of the gateway. At the time the Nawáb, having eaten his dinner, had gone to bed. No one dared to wake him. At length Miyán Sáhíb Ján 'Ali Khán went in, and pressing the Nawáb's feet, delivered the note to him. One hundred rupees were given to the messenger.

The Bakhshis were sent for in hot haste. They reported that very few troops were at hand. The Nawáb told them to send for all the clerks, and ordered *parwánahs* to be written to all the 'Amils and Faujdárs, calling on them to start at once for Farrukhábád. At that time Bakhshi Fakhr-ud-daula with a large force was fighting Datṭa, zamindár of Aksauli, west of Márahra. The village lies in Parganah Sikandrah Ráo of the Aligarh district, and in those days the jungle was so dense that falcons (*báshá*) are said to have been caught there, and for years together no human being passed through it. In a few days after receiving the *parwánah*, the Bakhshi reached Farrukhábád with this army. Help was also called for from Mau, Shamsábád, Aṭa'ipur, Tilhar, Sháhjáhánpur, Barelí, Budáun, Anwalah, Bisoli and Aujhání.\*

At this time Háfíz Rahmat Khán was encamped near his own frontier in Parganah Míhrábád, now in the Sháhjáhánpur district. The Nawáb sent to him Bakhshi Fakhr-ud-daula to ask his aid to save the Afgháns from disgrace. Háfíz Rahmat Khán, being no doubt afraid that, if Ahmad Khán were crushed, his own interests in the Duáb, where he then held Etáwah, Shikohábád and Phaphond, would be seriously endangered, seems to have shown great readiness to espouse the Nawáb's cause. He said he had already heard of the affair, and on that account had encamped near his frontier; he was quite ready to join, but his troops were in want of pay. If money were advanced, he would send for Sa'dullah Khán, Donde Khán, Mullá Sardár Khán, Fath Khán and others. Even if money were not forthcoming, he would not fail to attend with his own men. After he had made a report of this interview, the Bakhshi was sent back with two lakhs of rupees to be made over to Háfíz Rahmat Khán for expenses, and a promise of further advances when Nawáb Sa'dullah Khán joined. On receipt of this money Háfíz Rahmat Khán wrote to Sa'dullah Khán and the other chiefs, calling on them to march without a moment's delay. He also wrote to Shekh Kabír, his deputy at Etáwah, instructing him to march with his whole force direct to the Káli-naddi and encamp below Khudáganj. The Bakhshi returned and reported what had been done.

\* Bisoli lies 24 miles N. W. of Budaon and Aujhání 8 miles S. W. of the same place.

After this the Nawáb wrote a letter (*kharita*) to Gházi-ud-dín Khán 'Imád-ul-Mulk, Wazír, who was then in the country of Súraj Mall Jaṭ,\* asking for his aid and presence. The despatch was made over to Khwája Khán, the *wakil* of 'Imád-ul-Mulk, to whom the Nawáb said that if, which God forbid, he came across Súraj Mall, and he should ask why he, too, was not invited, the answer should be given, that formerly he had not behaved like a neighbour, else he never would have joined Safdar Jang. He had better march to join Shuja'-ud-daula, Safdar Jang's son, for with God's favour he, Ahmad Khán, did not want his aid; and, please God, he would serve Shuja'-ud-daula as he had served Safdar Jang.

When Khwája Khán reached Díg and delivered his letter, 'Imád-ul-Mulk at once sent for Súraj Mall. 'Imád-ul-Mulk repeated to him how affairs stood and declared it to be his intention to march to the assistance of Ahmad Khán. The Rájah asked why he had not been invited to join. Khwája Khán then repeated the Nawáb's exact words. The Rájah admitted that what the Nawáb said was true, still byegones should be byegones. Although he had not been asked, he would send off 3000 active horsemen with orders to encamp at Koil. If Shuja'-ud-daula advanced any further than Kanauj, they would advance by forced marches to join Ahmad Khán. Besides this he would send several thousand horse to accompany the Ex-wazír. They marched, and when 'Imád-ul-Mulk drew near the city, Ahmad Khán came out in person to meet him, and conducted him to his tents in the Haiyát Bágh.

In answer to the *parwánahs* the troops from far and near began to pour into the city. Altogether some thirty or forty thousand men had assembled, including Paṭháns from Shahjáhánpur, Sháhábád and other places. When Háfíz Rahmat Khán arrived from Bareli, his tents were pitched in the fort of Fathgarh. Below Zu'lfikárgarh, near the city, a bridge of boats was thrown across, and there Mullá Sardar Khán and Donde Khán crossed with their men. The artillery was got out and put in order. It was then sent on to the banks of the Bagár just beyond Yáqútganj, where all the tents were set up which had been plundered from Safdar Jang and Naval Ráe. The Nawáb then marched out at the head of his army, and having stayed one night, he returned to the fort, leaving the Bakhshi in command. Roshan Khán and Umráo Gir, each with about five thousand men, were ordered to proceed and join Shekh Kabír's camp on the Káli below Khudáganj.

Soon after Shuja'-ud-daula's arrival at Makanpur, an eunuch of his establishment made his appearance at Farrukhábád, and put up at the Lál

\* It was not till 1763-4 that Suraj Mall lost his life during a skirmish with Najib Khán's troops.

Saráe. He came to demand a return of the territory recently absorbed by Ahmad Khán. The Nawáb, having collected four or five thousand of his troops and all the Delhi refugees, such as Násir Khán, Ex-Subahdar of Kábul and others, sent for the eunuch. The envoy delivered a *farmán* from the Emperor, which was made over to Mihrban Khán, by whom it was read aloud. The Nawáb sent back an angry message to Shuja'-ud-daula. The next envoy sent was Sálár Jang, the Wazír's brother-in-law. The Rohelas were supposed to be secretly favourable to Shuja'-ud-daula; but instead of listening to Sálár Jang's message, they detained him as their prisoner.

'Imád-ul-Mulk now urged an advance towards the enemy, but Ahmad Khán objected to make the first advance. The Emperor being with Shuja'-ud-daula, people would call him a rebel and untrue to his salt, if he attacked first. He therefore proposed to write a remonstrance to the Emperor; they would see what answer they got, and they could act accordingly. The letter stated that the Nawáb, a hereditary servant of the state, was pursued by the unjust enmity of Shuja'-ud-daula. He ought to be called on to prove his accusations of using a *Gulábbári*, making elephants fight, and riding in a *palki* without leave. If mad elephants break their chains and rush off into the jungle to fight, no one is to blame. As to the royal pavilion, that is a mistake, only a few pieces of wood had been put up; for the Patháns having no manners, it was necessary to range them in rows along this barrier, and there force them to make their morning bow. The *palki* had been presented by his late Majesty, Alamgir II, when he made Ahmad Khán Bakhshi of the realm. Shuja'-ud-daula was also angry, because Ahmad Sháh Durráni had deputed Ahmad Khán with Jahán Khán to bring that noble to his presence. Shuja'-ud-daula came with reluctance, and nourished an ill-feeling against the persons who forced him to attend. Najíb Khán, too, who was once in Ahmad Khán's employ, now had risen so high as to claim equality, which being denied him, caused hidden enmity in his mind. The letter then went on to recount at length the intrigues before the battle of Panipat, intended to exclude Ahmad Khán from the good favour of the Durráni ruler. It concluded by an appeal to His Majesty's sense of justice and requested that His Majesty would withdraw to some height, while the rivals fought out the matter. The victor could then present himself to do homage to his sovereign.

Mahtáb Khán Bangash, who was very clever and had not his equal for a negotiation, received charge of the above petition. One hundred men were told off as his escort. The Nawáb's last instructions were that, if waiting two or three days would produce an answer, he should wait; if not, he was to come away without any formal dismissal. Mahtáb Khán on reach-

ing his destination was admitted to an audience. The secretaries read out the petition in a loud voice word by word. After hearing it the Emperor dismissed Mahtáb Khán and sent for Shuja'-ud-daula. In the Wazír's opinion no answer should be sent; no answer was the best answer. Mahtáb Khán waited two days, and when he found out that no answer would be given, he left without permission and returned to Farrukhábád, where he made a report to the Nawáb.

Next day Ahmad Khán and 'Imád-ul-Mulk had a consultation. 'Imád-ul-Mulk urged the Nawáb to march without any further delay. Just at this time, word came that Najíb Khán had arrived at Nabiganj, a small town between Bewar and Chibramau, some eighteen miles south of Farrukhábád. Najíb Khán Yusufzai, who had from various causes been detained at Delhi, had come by forced marches down the Duab *viâ* Sakít, destroying crops and burning villages as he advanced. He was a turban-brother (*paggri-badal-bháí*) of Shuja'-ud-daula's. Ahmad Khán sent two hundred and fifty trays of food by one hundred and twenty-five *kahars*, in charge of Sháh Muhammad Khán Jamadár, and Gulsher Khán "*sonḥi-wálá.*" These men had orders to deliver an ironical message that the food was for Najíb Khán's own use, while the territory was there for his army's consumption; what he had done was quite right and lawful, for between brothers there need be no ceremony. Najíb Khán in anger ordered them to remove the trays, they might read the *Fátíha* of his father over them. It is said that six thousand Pathán horsemen left Najíb Khán's service at Nabiganj. They were received with open arms by Ahmad Khán, dresses of honour were distributed and daily rations were served out to them.

Next day Najíb Khán marched, and encamped near the Káli-nadi at Khudáganj, about half a *kos* from the camp of Shekh Kabír, Rájah Umráo Gir Atít, and Roshan Khán. Najíb Khán sent word to Shekh Kabír that he wished to pay him a visit. Shekh Kabír replied that they could only meet sword in hand; having come to aid Shuja'-ud-daula, how could he think of asking for an interview with them. The next day, without paying his visit, Najíb Khán marched off and entered Kanauj.

Najíb Khán was conducted by Shuja'-ud-daula to the Emperor's presence. They then began to discuss their plans. Najíb Khán assured the Wazír of his regret for the delay, which had allowed Ahmad Khán time to assemble troops. If war were decided on, he would be the first in the field, yet he doubted if his Afgháns would fight heartily against the Rohelas. He proposed to negotiate. After two or three days Najíb Khán put his troops in motion towards Farrukhábád. Hearing this, Shekh Kabír sent him a message not to come further, as next day it was his intention to provide him with some entertainment. Najíb Khán sent back word that he had

not come to fight, he had come to seek an interview with Háfiz Rahmat Khán. Shekh Kabír told him in that case he might pass, but without his troops.

Najíb Khán, leaving his army, advanced with a few men, and crossing the Káli-nadi pitched his tents. Next morning he continued his march. As he got near the camp of Fakhr-ud-daula, he found the Bakhshi on his elephant, at the head of his whole army drawn up in battle array. Najíb Khán passed them in review and saw that they were very numerous. There were more leaders on elephants with Fakhr-ud-daula than there were with Najíb Khán. Najíb Khán proffered a *salam*, but no one returned it.

Passing on, Najíb Khán crossed the Ganges by the bridge of boats and waited upon Sa'dullah Khán, Háfiz Rahmat Khán, Donde Khán, Mullá Sardár Khán, and Fath Khán. Donde Khán, his father-in-law, taunted him for siding with Shuja'-ud-daula against a Paṭhán, but he defended himself by pleading gratitude for the timely aid afforded him, when invested by the Mahráttas in Sukartál. The night was passed in consultation. It appears that the Rohelas were offered one-third of the Bangash territory if they would withdraw, but Háfiz Rahmat Khán refused to forsake his friend Ahmad Khán.\* The final decision was that peace should be made between Shuja'-ud-daula and Ahmad Khán. Háfiz Rahmat Khán engaged to go in the morning to see Ahmad Khán. When he was introduced to the Nawáb's presence, he congratulated him on the good news. The Nawáb asked what he meant. Háfiz Rahmat Khán replied, that by God's favour, they had gained a victory without fighting; Shuja'-ud-daula, becoming frightened by the preparations, had sent Najíb Khán to make overtures to Sa'dullah Khán. Ahmad Khán said he himself would accept what they agreed to, but Gházi-ud-dín Khán 'Imád-ul-Mulk must be consulted. They went together to that noble's quarters. He was of opinion that Shuja'-ud-daula and Najíb Khán, in despair of success, had made these proposals; although thus forced to make peace, they would not fail, when opportunity offered, to break their word. Háfiz Rahmat Khán admitted this was quite true, still when affairs took that turn, punishment would await them then as now. In the traditions of the Prophet was it not written that Peace is blessed. 'Imád-ul-Mulk answered, that if they were of that opinion, his decision must follow theirs. Peace was thus decided on.

Háfiz Rahmat Khán reported to Najíb Khán what had been said and done. The Emperor's presence was their only reason for accepting peace, and he requested that Najíb Khán would urge the Wazír to quit the Paṭhán territory at once. Najíb Khán proposed that they should go together and persuade Shuja'-ud-daula to retire. Háfiz Rahmat Khán objected that he

\* Life of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, p. 78.

was in the service of Ahmad Khán, without whose leave he could not go. Najíb Khán told him that he should not have accepted such a lowly position. Háfiz Rahmat Khán informed him that there were others, for Sa'dullah Khán and his whole army had been subsidized, their expenses had been paid from the Nawáb's treasury, to that date seven lakhs of rupees had been advanced. He promised to go next day and ask the Nawáb for permission. The next day, Ahmad Khán having made no objection, Háfiz Rahmat Khán and Najíb Khán commenced their march. When they reached Khudáganj, Shekh Kabír was asked to accompany them. They paid their respects to the Emperor, and then went to Shuja'-ud-daula. They told him he ought to return to the east again. At length the Emperor and Shuja'-ud-daula set out eastwards. When they arrived at Korah, Najíb Khán and Háfiz Rahmat Khán took their leave. Najíb Khán followed the route to Delhi, while Háfiz Rahmat Khán returned to his own camp. Next morning, Nawáb Sa'dullah Khán and the other Rohelas came to take leave of Nawáb Ahmad Khán. He distributed gifts and dismissed them. The Sháhjáhanpur leaders also, 'Abd-ullah Khán and others, were given leave to go, after gifts and dresses of honour had been conferred on them.

*Shuja'-ud-daula takes refuge at Farrukhábád.*

After his defeat at Baksar on the 23rd October, 1764, Shuja'-ud-daula first sought aid from the Rohelas at Bareli, and for safety removed his women and jewels to that place. As the Rohelas declined to enlist on his side against the English, the Wazír and Háfiz Rahmat Khán came to Ahmad Khán at Farrukhábád. Not succeeding in inducing any of the Patháns to join him, Shuja'-ud-daula marched eastwards, only to be again defeated in May, 1765, at Korah-Jahánábád. Having again fled to Farrukhábád, he was persuaded by Ahmad Khán and Háfiz Rahmat Khán to come to terms, the result being the treaty signed at Allahábád in August, 1765.\* A long speech by Ahmad Khán, dissuading from hostility to the English, will be found set forth in the "*Siyar-ul-Mutákharrín.*"†

A few anecdotes connected with Shuja'-ud-daula's visit have been handed down. The encampment was at Haiyát Bágh, and then at Fathgarh. One day the Patháns suggested that the *Irání* (Shuja'-ud-daula) should be murdered, since his father, Safdar Jang, had murdered five of the Nawáb's brothers. The Nawáb is said to have replied that treachery was not the habit of his family; by God's grace, he killed his enemies, if at all, in the open field.

\* Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. II, p. 76.

† Edition, 1789, Vol. II, p. 367.



An interview was arranged, and Mír Akbar 'Ali, teacher of Nawáb Sa'dat 'Ali Khán, told the author of the "*Lauh*," that he went in the retinue of Nawáb Shuja'-ud-daula, being then twenty years of age. Ahmad Khán sent for arms from his armoury, which were much praised. Then trays of jewels were sent for. A pearl necklace, once worn by Káim Jang, was much admired. Ahmad Khán put it round the Wazír's neck, when Shuja'-ud-daula became yellow with anger. He took the necklace off and for a long time held it in his hand and turned each pearl round with his fingers. Then putting it down on the cushion, he stood up and said, he wished to take his leave. The Nawáb and 'Imád-ul-Mulk stood up, and Shuja'-ud-daula then went off to Fathgaph. There he told his courtiers that Ahmad Khán had gone the length (*zayádati*) of investing him with the "*khila't*" of a pearl necklace.

Next day, Ahmad Khán returned the visit, and the two nobles sat down together, Dáim Khán, chela, being in Ahmad Khán's lap. Shuja'-ud-daula sent for water to drink, when Dáim Khán said "I too will drink." In those days it was the duty of Miyan Almás Khwája Saráe\* to bring water for drinking. He took up a jewelled water bottle (*suráhi*) and cup, and the Wazír ordered him to give first a drink to the young Nawáb. Then Shuja'-ud-daula himself drank. From that day Almás 'Ali Khán had a great respect for Dáim Khán and obtained for him from Asaf-ud-daula (1775—1798) the *jagir* of Pukhráyán, in parganah Sháhpur-Akbarpur of the Cawnpur district.

#### *Muzaffar Jang's marriage.*

When the Nawáb determined to find a bride for his son, Muzaffar Jang, he sent for and consulted Kábila Khánum, one of the women of Ghazanfar Jang's time. He asked her who among his brethren had daughters, and where he should betroth his son, Muzaffar Jang. Kábila Khánum replied that Murtazza Khán† had three daughters, and Khudábandah Khán‡ had also three daughters. The Nawáb replied that Murtazza Khán was a troublesome fellow; should he object it would cause ill-feeling. Khudábandah Khán was, however, a mild-tempered, quiet man; and he requested her to go to his house and propose a marriage of his daughter with the Nawáb's son, Muzaffar Jang. The woman went off to the house,

\* The celebrated Almás 'Ali Khán, 'Amil of the Duab districts from 1774 till the cession in 1801. Lord Valentia who saw him at Lakhnau on the 23rd March, 1803, describes him as "a venerable old-woman-like being, upwards of eighty, full six feet high, and stout in proportion." (Travels, I. p. 136).

† Fourth son of Muhammad Khán.

‡ Twelfth son of Muhammad Khán.

and after some indifferent conversation, mentioned her errand. The Nawáb made no reply. After a moment's pause, the woman said, "O Khudábandah Khán! why do you not answer and accept at once?" Nawáb Khudábandah Khán said, that Núr-un-nissa had been already adopted by the holy man, Asad 'Ali Sháh,\* so that he was helpless. It rested with that saint to agree or not, and if he agreed there would be no objection. The *Khánum* replied, that the Nawáb must go and tell the Sayyad, when there was no doubt he would consent. Khudábandah Khán said he would go that evening. When he went, the Sayyad asked what he wished, but he said it was for the Sayyad to decide. The Sayyad thought that to accept was desirable, to make any objection would do harm, he should therefore consent gladly. The Nawáb returned and told the woman Kábila that he agreed to the proposal.

On receiving her report, Nawáb Ahmad Khán proceeded to the Bibi Sáhíba, the widow of Muhammad Khán, whom he told of what he intended to do, and he asked her, should she approve, to go the next day to Khudábandah Khán's house to carry out the custom of *charáwah*.† She expressed her consent, and the next day went with great pomp to Khudábandah Khán's house and carried out the usual ceremonies. Next day the ladies from the other side came with the *nausha* and carried out the usual ceremonies.

After this Nawáb Ahmad Khán sent for Nawáb Khudábandah Khán. The Nawáb received him with especial kindness and embraced him. A friendly conversation began. Then Bakhshi Fakhr-ud-daula was sent for, and ordered to make out a grant of the town of Sakráwah (or Sakráya)‡ in the name of his beloved brother Khudábandah Khán. The secretary was to write it out at once, and, after obtaining the signatures of all the clerks in the office, it was to be brought to the presence. When the grant was brought, the Nawáb presented it to Khudábandah Khán and said it was in addition to all his former *jágírs*. Khudábandah Khán then took his leave.

Preparations began for the wedding. The Bakhshi and Mihrbán Khán were ordered to send food of every description to all the Muhammadans, from the first day till the day of the wedding. To the Hindus sweetmeats and almond confection were sent. The *khansámán* and Námdár Khán were directed to pitch tents within the fort for the Delhi nobles, so that each

\* A Sayyad, son of Sharf-ud-dín Husain Bukhári; he came to Farrukhábád in Muhammad Khán's time (1713-1743); he fought on Káim Khán's side and was wounded. He died on the 7th Safar 1184 H. (2nd June, 1770).

† Presents to the bride at betrothal.—*Qanoon-e-Islam*, p. 62.

‡ A parganah in Tahsil Tirwah in the south-east of the district.

might have his separate assembly. Dancing girls from far and near were gathered together, so that dancing might go on at all the different tents at once. At night all the nobles were invited, and each was conducted to a separate tent. To each were told off two chelas to attend on them and carry out their wishes. Nawáb Ahmad Khán sat in his own hall, with some of the greater nobles, such as Násir Khán, ex-Subahdar of Kábul, Nawáb Sháh Jiu, son of Kamr-ud-dín Khán Wazír, Nawáb 'Itikád-ud-daula, son of the Emperor Ahmad Sháh's maternal aunt, and Nawáb Manavar Khán, brother of Roshan-ud-daula. The night passed in amusements, in looking on at dancing and buffoons' performances, or in listening to singing. These festivities went on for a month.

For illuminating the city, bamboo screens were put up along both sides of the road, from the gate of the fort to the gate of Khudábandah Khán's house. They adorned these screens with shades of mica and of coloured glass (*kanwal*) and with glass shades. Platforms adorned with brocade, cloth of gold and satin were prepared to carry the dancing women. This work was made over to Háji Sarfaráz Khán and Námdár Khán the elder. The fireworks were under Nasír Khán. Shafi Khán, *darogha* of the elephant stables, was ordered to prepare *haudahs* and *bangla* (covered *howdahs*) and *amára* (*howdahs* high at the sides) adorned with gold and silver. The elephants were to be in attendance at the gate of the fort. Bakhshi Fakhr-ud-daula and Díwán Mihrbán Khán were told that when the bridegroom mounted his elephant (*megdambar*) the nobles of Delhi were to be escorted to their elephants. The commanders of regiments and the *jama'dars* attended in their best raiment, accompanied by their relations.

When the procession was formed, the illuminations were lit in one blaze from the fort gate to Khudábandah Khán's. They were formed of mica shades (*kanwal*) and round globes (*kwinkwina*) placed on the left and right of the roadway. In front there were lustres with five or six branches each, making a total of fifty or sixty thousand lights. Then followed the thrones on which the dancing girls performed. Thus, with splendour and display, the bridegroom's party advanced step by step. Fireworks were let off at intervals. From both sides gold and silver flowers were flung on the bridegroom for good luck. At length they reached the bride's door. The Nawáb and the bridegroom and the nobles entered, while the other leaders attended outside. Dancing and singing then began, and the whole night was thus passed. At day-break the bridegroom was taken into the women's apartments for the ceremonies usual there. Then coming out the bride was put into a *chandol* (a sort of sedan chair), which was covered with cloth of gold. All that Khudábandah Khán possessed in the way of goods and chattels, he sent with his daughter as her marriage present. Then the

return was made to the fort in the order in which they had come. At the fort all the nobles, chiefmen and bankers attended to congratulate the Nawáb, and made their offerings. Next day, rich gifts were bestowed on the dancers, the buffoons and the story-tellers. Suits of clothes were sent to every noble, to the Nawáb's brothers and brothers' sons, to the chiefs of the Bangash tribe and to the employés of the State.

*Mahratta affairs : 1752—1771.*

We have already described the rather complicated arrangement made at the peace of 1752. Safdar Jang then owed thirty lakhs, or as some say, eighty lakhs of rupees to the Mahrattas, as their pay for the time they had been in his service. This debt was transferred to the shoulders of Ahmad Khán, and as security the Mahrattas were to obtain sixteen and a half out of the thirty-three maháls then forming the territory of Farrukhábád. The Mahrattas, as usual, were the sole gainers, while Safdar Jang had no more than the empty gratification of having humbled his enemy.

At one time the Farrukhábád state is said to have consisted of forty-four maháls, but of these it is impossible to identify twenty-one, the names of which have not been handed down. Of the remaining thirty-three, sixteen and a half were assigned to Mulhár Ráo by a grant on copper, while a corresponding deed on copper for the other sixteen and a half maháls was made over to Ahmad Khán by the Mahratta. The grant was in the name of Mahmúd Khán, the Nawáb's son, and it stated that so long as a slave of the Bangash family was in existence, no Mahratta should interfere with those maháls.

The thirty-three maháls were as follows :—

1. *Shamsábád.*—In the Farrukhábád district ; it is now divided into S. West in Tahsil Kaimganj, S. East and Muhamdábád in the Sadr Tahsil. In the Nawáb's time it included Tappa 'Azimnagar now in the Eta district. (Káli Ráo, p. 101.)
2. *Birwar.*—The old name of Bewar in the Mainpuri district, Gaz. IV. 657.
3. *Bhongám.*—Also called Bhonganw, in the Mainpuri district. It then included the present parganahs of Mainpuri and Kishni-Nabiganj, Gaz. IV. 670.
4. *Kampil.*—Now Kampil-Káimganj in Tahsil Káimganj, Farrukhábád district.
5. *Pañáli.*—Eta district, Gaz. IV. 174.
6. *Saháwar.*—Now Saháwar-Karsána, Eta district Gaz. IV. 181.
7. *Sakiñh.*—Now Eta-Sakiñh, Eta district, Gaz. IV. 187.
8. *Márahra.*—Half of the parganah. Now in the Eta district, Gaz.

IV. 158. In 1738 the Sayyad proprietors (who got the parganah in *jagír* from Farrukhsiyar in 1713) farmed 117 villages and the Nilgarán *patti* of the town to the Nawáb of Farrukhábád, and the other 60 villages with the Bhairon *patti* to Safdar Jang. The Nawáb Wazír took the first-named portion, known as *Kismat avval*, for himself in 1772, Gaz. IV. 162.

9. *Soron-Badariya*.—Eta district, Gaz. IV. 125, 213.

10. *Auset*.—Across the Ganges in the Badáun district.

11. *Nidhpur*.—(Also called *Miyáo*) Eta district, Gaz. IV. 165.

12. *Barná-Sonhár*.—Eta district, Gaz. IV. 205.

13. *Koráli*.—Mainpuri district, Gaz. IV. 711.

14. *Sidhpura*.—Eta district, Gaz. IV. 179.

15. *Karsána*.—Now included in Saháwar, Eta district. Gaz. IV.

181.

16. *Khákhatau-Dahliya*.—Across the Ganges in Tahsil Aligarh, Farrukhábád district.

17. *Míhrábád*.—Across the Ganges in the south of the Sháhjábánpur district. It once formed a part of Parganah Shamsábád, (Elliot Supp. Glossary, II. 92.)

18. *Anritpur*.—Across the Ganges in Tahsil Aligarh, Farrukhábád district.

19. *Chibrámau*.—Tahsil Chibrámau, Farrukhábád district.

20. *Sikandarapur*.—Now absorbed in Chibrámau (No. 19,) Farrukhábád district.

21. *Saurikh*.—In Tahsil Tirwa, Farrukhábád district.

22. *Sakráwah*.—Tahsil Tirwa, Farrukhábád district.

23. *Sakatpur*.—Tahsil Tirwa, Farrukhábád district.

24. *Auráiyá Phapond*.—In the Etawah district, Gaz. IV. 408.

25. *Sauj*.—In parganah Karhal, Mainpuri district, 24 miles from Mainpuri. The old parganah was dismembered in 1840, 25 villages going to parganah Mainpuri and 17 to Karhal. Gaz. IV. 752.

26. *Itáwah*.—In the Itáwah district. It formerly included parganah Karhal of the Mainpuri and Barnáhal of the Itáwah district. Elliot, Supp. Gloss. p. 309.

27. *Bhojpur*.—In the Sadr Tahsil of the Farrukhábád district. It included parganah Pahára.

28. *Tálgrám*.—In the Chibrámau Tahsil of the Farrukhábád district. In those days it included the Ta'luka of Thattya-Tirwa (*Káli Ráe*, p. 145.)

29. *Kannauj*.—In Tahsil Kannauj of the Farrukhábád district.

30. *Bilhor*.—In the Cawnpur district, the next parganah east of Kannauj.

31. *Sháhpur-Akbarpur*.—In the western part of the Cawnpur district.

32. *Shiwájpur*.—In the Cawnpur district, the parganah next to the east of Bilhor, No. 30.

33. *Musenagar-Bhogni*.—In the south of the Cawnpur district, along the left bank of the river Jamna.

We are not told which of these thirty-three mahals formed the sixteen made over to the Mahrattas. The management would appear to have been left in the hands of Ahmad Khán, though it is doubtful whether this refers to all the mahals, or only to the Nawáb's half. We are told that, after deducting the costs of management and the pay of the troops, the balance was payable to Mulhár Ráo. On the part of the Mahrattas two bankers were appointed, called by them *Bamman*, who were stationed one at Kanauj, the other at 'Aliganj in Parganah 'Azimnagar. The balance payable to the Mahrattas was made over to these two bankers, by whom the money was remitted to Mulhár Ráo. Receipts for each year were then forwarded to the Nawáb. These payments were made for several years in succession. They ceased after the battle of Panipat, fought in January 1761, when the Mahrattas left Hindustan for a time, retired beyond the Jamna, and proceeded to the Dakhin.

For some years the Mahrattas were occupied in domestic struggles and in warfare south of the Narbada. Advantage was taken of their withdrawal from Hindustan to recover all the parganahs which had fallen into their hands. During 1761-1763 Shujá'-ud-daula cleared the lower Duáb of their posts and even advanced into Bandelkhand as far as Jhánsi. Nawáb Ahmad Khán, in the same way, took possession of many of the parganahs once held by his father, and no longer paid any tribute to the Mahrattas. Etawah, Phapond and Shikohábád, however, which had in 1761 been granted to Háfiz Rahmat Khán by the Abdáli monarch, were permanently severed from the Farrukhábád state.

Except for a short time at Delhi in 1764, and at the battle of Korah in 1765, no Mahratta was seen in Northern India for more than eight years. In the end of 1769, however, the Peshwa's army, amounting to fifty thousand men, crossed the Chambal. It was under the command of Visají Kishn, Ram Chandar Ganesh, Mahádaji Sendhiá and Tukáji Holkar. First they levied arrears of tribute from the Rajput princes. Next, after a victorious engagement fought close to Bhartpur, they obtained sixty-five lakhs of rupees from the Ját princes. Overtures were then made to them by Najíb Khán, and it was agreed that their combined armies should march against Farrukhábád.\*

Early in the year 1184 H. (27th April, 1770—16th April, 1771), Najíb Khán advanced from Delhi. Háfiz Rahmat Khán, whose son's *jágir* of

\* Grant Duff, pp. 349, 350.

Itáwah was threatened, marched to Kádír-Chauk on the Ganges. Here he learned that Najíb Khán, having been taken ill at Koil, had set out for Najíbábád. On his road he died at Hápar in the Meerut district. His death occurred in the month of October, 1770. His eldest son, Zábíta Khán, proceeded with the Mahrattas towards Farrukhábád.

Háfiz Rahmat Khán sent fifteen thousand horse and foot to the aid of Ahmad Khán. On hearing that the Mahrattas were at Pañiáli, some forty miles west of Farrukhábád, Háfiz Rahmat Khán marched in person to Fathgarh and encamped on the east bank of the Ganges. A consultation was then held with Ahmad Khán. A bridge of boats was constructed, and the remainder of the army, about twenty thousand horse and foot, crossed the Ganges and encamped between Fathgarh and Farrukhábád.

Meanwhile Zábíta Khán wrote to say that he was a prisoner in the hands of the Mahrattas. Negotiations began for his release and the withdrawal of the Mahrattas. The Mahrattas claimed Itáwah and Shikohábád, which had been long in their possession before they were handed over in *jágir* to Háfiz Rahmat Khán. During this period Najíb Khán's army arrived from Ghausgarh\* and Najíbábád.† Zábíta Khán succeeded in escaping during the night and, joining his troops, returned home.

The war was now carried on by the Mahrattas alone. In several actions they defeated the Afgháns, who behaved badly. At length the Rohelas were on the point of re-crossing the Ganges, when the Mahrattas broke up their camp and marched for Itáwah. 'Ináyat Khán, son of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, was then asked by his father to give up his *jágir* of Itáwah. He refused and retired in disgust to Bareli. Donde Khán, however, relinquished his claim on Shikohábád. Orders were sent to Shekh Kabír, who had in the interval repulsed the Mahrattas several times, obtained honorable terms. He then joined Háfiz Rahmat Khán at Farrukhábád, and all the Rohelas returned to Bareli after an absence of eight months (October, 1770—May, 1771).‡

At this time Sendhiá entered the Nawáb's territory and encamped at Nabiganj, some twenty miles south of Farrukhábád. Bakhshi Fakhr-ud-daula proposed to collect forty thousand men and attempt resistance. The Nawáb, who was old and blind, said he knew they would fight to the last man, but the Bakhshi was the blind man's staff, and if the staff (which God forbid) were broken, the blind man would be destroyed. He therefore desired that a peace should be made as quickly as possible. The Bakhshi taking with

\* Between the towns of Thána Bhowan and Jalálábád in the west of the Muzaffarnagar district. A mosque and a large well are all that is left to mark the site.

† In the Bijnor district.

‡ Life of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, pp. 89—93.

him Gházi-ud-dín Khán 'Imád-ul-Mulk, visited the Mahrattas and asked what terms they would accept. Sendhiá claimed the sixteen and a half maháls given by the former treaty. He wished to collect the revenue himself, for while the Nawáb had the management, years had elapsed without any payment having been made. As there was no help for it, the sixteen and a half maháls were given up. Ahmad Khán directed that although the territory had been reduced to one half its former extent, no troops should be discharged. In three years his eyes would be all right, and then he would take his revenge. The income being reduced, while the same expenditure was maintained, the coin collected in the treasury was soon spent.

*Ahmad Khán's blindness and death.*

For a year or two before his death, Nawáb Ahmad Khán was afflicted with inflammation of the eyes, and he gradually lost his sight. One Basant Ráe *Kuhál* (operator on the eye) treated him for the malady, but without success.

His eyes had begun by paining him, and after a time his sight became weak. One or two years passed in this condition, but day by day the sight became worse. He concealed the fact as well as he could. He used to come to his ordinary place and return every one's salutation. The courtiers, from actions opposed to his usual habit, noticed his blindness but said nothing. At length the defect could no longer be concealed. Several of the Nawáb's servants recommended Hakim Núr Khán Muhammad Sháhi, as well spoken of for his treatment of diseases of the eye. They were told to bring him, and he treated the Nawáb for one or two months without effect.

One day it came into the Nawáb's mind that by feasting religious mendicants, his vows might be granted. He therefore ordered Bakhshi Fakhr-ud-daula and Mihrbán Khán to put up tents inside the fort. Food of every sort was prepared and given to *fákirs* and the poor. They offered up their prayers for his recovery. For forty days the food was given away. The pious Hisám-ud-dín adduces many instances of the efficacy of prayer by holy men; but he admits that in this instance the prayers were not heard, for, as he says, the supplicants were not saints.

Shortly after this a clever scoundrel came from the Panjáb, and was introduced to the Nawáb through Rahmat Khan, son of Jabán Khan. He promised to remove the obstruction. The cheat, putting a little water in the palm of his hand, said some words over it, and then applied it to the Nawáb's eyes. For several days this process was repeated. Then under pretence of requiring money to offer in alms, he got silver and gold and went away, promising to return in a day or two. He was never seen again.



Another cheat was Sayyad Bákir. He wrote a forged letter in the name of a holy man of Lakhnau to Ján 'Ali Khán, saying he had heard that Nawáb Ahmad Khán had lost his eyesight and had given up all hope except in the intercession of *fakirs*. Now in the city of Farrukhábád would be found a *fakir* of great holiness, chief of the age, whose name was Sayyad Bákir. There was little doubt that he would be able to restore the Nawáb's eyes. Ján 'Ali Khán went with the letter to the Nawáb. The Nawáb told him to obey its directions. Bakhshi Fakhr-ud-daula and Ján 'Ali Khán proceeded to that deceiver and with the profoundest respect brought him to the Nawáb. The Nawáb presented him with five hundred rupees and a number of rich dresses. The *fakir* said food must be distributed daily, while he underwent a forty days' fast, for which a secluded place must be provided. The Nawáb ordered Ján 'Ali Khán to find the man a place in his garden. Then that lying philosopher promised the Nawáb that sight would return to his eyes on the festival of the 'Id-ul-fitr. Ján 'Ali Khán took the *fakir* to his garden and placed men to watch him. As the promised time drew near, one night in the end of Ramzán, the cheat got over the back wall of the garden and escaped. On the day fixed Ján 'Ali Khán was sent to bring the *fakir*. He went into the garden and called, but there was no answer. Then he looked about and could find the man no where. Wringing his hands, he came out of the garden and sat down at his own entrance gate. For very shame he was unable to appear before the Nawáb. At length the Nawáb sent to know what had happened. Ján 'Ali Khán was forced to go and reported how they had been deceived. The Nawáb after this ceased to repine and put his full trust in God, whose will is best.

Nawáb Ahmad Khán breathed his last on the 28th Rabi I, 1185 H. (12th July, 1771), the day on which 'Ali Guhar Sháh 'Alam reached Khudáganj, on his way from Allabábád to Delhi. After a delay occasioned by the disturbance raised by Murtazza Khán, the body was taken out and buried in the Bihisht Bágh, in the tomb prepared by Ahmad Khán in his own lifetime.

The date of his death is given by the following chronogram—

*Kunand giriya kháláik ba-nálah o Afghán.*

*Maláik ah kashand az wafát Ahmad Khán, (1191—6 = 1185).\**

Another is—“*Hai, Hai, Hátim Tái sáni na mánd,*” (1185).

The Emperor with his escort of some five thousand men marched on the next day, accompanied by Shuja'-ud-daula and others,† and encamped

\* Miftáh-ut T., p. 526.

† The *'Ibrat-námah* states that Shuja'-ud-daula, after visiting the Emperor at Allahabad, returned to Faizabad. The text gives the local tradition.

at the village of Saraiya in parganah Pahára, outside the south-west corner of the city. Bakhshi Fakhr-ud-daula placed Muzaffar Jang, the Nawáb's son, on an elephant and took him to present his *nazar* to the Emperor. The title of Farzand Bahádur (afterwards cut on the young Nawáb's seal) was conferred at this interview. There being no money in the treasury, the Bakhshi melted down all the silver of the *howdahs* and other furniture and sold it for three lakhs of rupees. This sum with seven elephants and eleven horses was presented to the Emperor.\* One lakh of rupees was obtained by Najaf Khán for arranging a settlement. After a halt of twenty-two days, Sháh 'Alam marched to Nabiganj, where he waited nearly three months, till the arrival from Delhi of Mahájí Sendhia.

*Anecdotes showing Ahmad Khán's habits and character.*

His full titles, as found on a cannon cast in 1173 H. (August, 1759—August, 1760), which was still in existence in 1839, were as follows :—Bakhshi-ul-Mamálik, Amír-ul-Umrá, Ghazanfar-ud-daula, Muhammad Ahmad Khán, Bahádur, Ghazanfar Jang, Sardár-ul-Mulk, Zafar-i-iq̄tidár, Sher-i-Hind, Bahádur, Ghálib Jang. To these may be added the title of *Kayám-ud-daula* which was, according to the *Túrikh-i-Muzaffari*, conferred in 1175 H.

He seems to have had little natural energy or ambition; he was emphatically one of those who, instead of achieving greatness, have greatness thrust upon them. In the course of our story we have seen repeatedly how his timidity or ill-timed scruples prevented him from pushing home a first success. After the battle of Rám Chatauni such was the state of consternation and want of preparation in the capital, that Ahmad Khán, had he not been turned off by fair words, could easily have made himself master of the Emperor's person. He could then have played the part afterwards so successfully assumed, one after the other, by Gházi-ud-dín Khán, Najib Khán, Najaf Khán and the Mahrattas. Again, when Islám Khán, chela, was 'Amíl of Kásganj, he made a successful raid into the upper Duáb, and it is highly probable that, had he been strongly supported, he might have carried out his boast of making his master the actual master of Delhi and its sovereign.

Stories are told of him in which it is hard to distinguish whether his conduct was due to mere good nature or foolish simplicity. For instance, we are told that the Nawáb had an extreme affection for new money. It was his habit to have the rupees spread out in the sun to prevent them getting black. Seated on a low stool, he watched them himself. Whenever he called for water or betel leaf or his *hugga*, the chelas would go in

\* Miftah-ut T., p. 529, and S-ul-M. (Lakhnau edition) at the top of page 931.

with wax on their feet. In this way, in the course of five or six hours, they would carry away some hundreds of rupees. When the money was counted and put back, some of the bags would remain unfilled. Then the Nawáb would be surprised and say to his chelas, "I do not know how it is, but I watched these rupees myself, and yet they have diminished. Perhaps they have been exposed too long to the sun and have got too much dried up. Go and place the bags in the treasury."\*

It was the Nawáb's habit to go out twice a day, sometimes on an elephant and sometimes in a *palki*. At other times, quitting the city, he looked on at elephant-fighting. As he passed through the streets of the city, he was attended by men carrying bags of money for the distribution of *largesse*. Their orders were to allow the approach of the humble poor, the weak, the blind, the lame and the sick. To all these money was given; not one poor man was passed over. Especial protegés of his were the so-called *Khopi-wálás*.† Some hundreds of families lived along the road side from the fort to the Mau gate, and below the fort as far as the edge of the Kadam Sharíf pond. They were people of all castes, who had followed the Nawáb's camp from Delhi in a year of famine, he having distributed five thousand rupees a day in food during his stay there. They acquired their name from the rough earthen huts which they built to live in, not having funds to build houses in the usual way. The Nawáb would often send money and food to them, saying, that they must not starve, since they had left their homes to follow him.

The Nawáb's retinue was accompanied by numerous *Saláyah-bardárs* (?), spearmen, (*barchi-bardárs*) lancemen, (*bhála-dárs*) macemen, (*chobdárs*) heralds, (*nakibs*) flatterers, (*bád-farosh*) bards, and (*karkah-go*) singers. The Nawáb's titles were announced and his praises cried out as the procession moved on. It was preceded, at a little distance, by a number of men with bambu sticks, lacquered in various colours, gold, scarlet, and so forth, some plain and some with flowered patterns. For about two cubits of their length these bambus were split. If any one came in the way of the retinue, whether rich or poor, he was beaten with those bambu sticks. They were also used to anybody who incurred the Nawáb's anger. The sound made by the blows was so great, that it could be heard a quarter of a *kos* off, though no wound was caused; any one who was beaten considered that his lucky star was in the ascendant, for the Nawáb was sure to send for him. Then he would say "You have not been hurt;" and the man would reply "Nawáb Sáhíb, each bone in my body aches as if it had been broken."

\* This story is in the main confirmed by Shekh Allahyár, author of the *Hadikat-ul-Akálín*, who was at Farrukhábád in 1769-70, in the employ of the Nawáb.

† Apparently from *khop* = a cave or cavern.

Then he would receive a present in cash and goods, to the amount that his fate had willed for him.

The Nawáb is said to have had a peculiar affection for the tune (*rág*) known as *Bihág*. On his birthday the singing women and male dancers (*bhakta*) were assembled from every part of the territory. About nine o'clock in the evening, the Nawáb used to come to the *Diván-khána*, with all his most costly jewels on, seated in his fringed *palki* "*Fath-našib*." (Fated to Victory.) This *palki* got its name from being the one used by the Nawáb during the battle, in which he totally defeated 'Abd-ul-Mansúr Khán, Safdar Jang. At the side of the *palki* walked all the leading Patháns and the Nawáb's cousins and nephews. There was a general illumination and discharge of fireworks. At this time no other kind of singing was allowed except the *Bihág*.

The Nawáb's taste was for highly decorated buildings, and where he slept, he had the walls adorned with pictures of himself and his friends. During his time he built six palaces. 1st, The Khás Mahal, where in 1839 Bibi Achbpal (widow of Muzaffar Jang) lived, and its doors, said to be copied from those of Harbong's foot at Jhúsi, still showed the decorated work. 2nd, The Mubárik Mahal. 3rd, The Salábat Mahal. It was situated at the back of the Moti *masjid*. Originally the doors and ceilings were gilt, but before 1839 the colour had been scraped off and taken away to extract the gold from it. 4th, The Hall of Audience in the Mubárik Mahal, occupied in 1839 by Wiláyati Begam, widow of Nawáb Násir Jang (1796—1813). 5th, The Kamáni gate of the fort. A stone, removed from this gateway in 1858-9, is preserved at the Sadr Tahsil; it is in shape like a milestone, and bears the following inscriptions in raised letters:

I. *Zahi báb daulat bar afráshtand Biná-ash chú kutb-i-falak sákhtand*  
*Barú mír razed 'z charkh barín Chú bārán-i-rahmat barúe-zamín*  
*Matín muhkam o ustwár ámdah Chú uftád falaki qarár ámdah*  
*Máh o sál án hátif dil-nawáz Bagufta "Dar-i-faiz didam báz."*  
(1172)

II. *Nawáb ín darwázah rá ta'mír chú farmúdah ast*  
*Yak hazár yak šad haftád išná búdah ast.*

6th, Some buildings and repairs to a fort at Mau Rashídabad, which has now entirely disappeared.

The Nawáb also paid attention to repairing the fort, restoring the city wall and renewing the Haiyát Bágh, where Muhammad Khán, his father, and Káim Khán, his brother, were interred. In the open space between the fort wall and the gate of the Diván Khána he put up a *Gulál-bár* (a royal pavilion.)\* There the leaders and commanders and lieutenants came and,

\* See Blochmann's "Ain i Akbari," Vol. I, plate X for a representation of one.

standing, made their obeisance, after which the Nawáb acknowledged their presence and took his seat.

The Bihisht Bágh, just south of the Mau Saráe, within the city wall, was planted by Ahmad Khán. The mosque is perhaps the largest and most elegant in the city, and at one side of it there are the remains of a handsome hot air bath. The Mohalla just to the south, chiefly occupied by Káchis, is called Ahmadganj Khandia. Besides the mosque, there are nine large domed tombs within the enclosure, that of Ahmad Khán, the largest of all, standing nearly in the centre, opposite the gateway. The persons buried there are as follows: *Makbarah No. 1.*—Ahmad Khán; Dil-Daler Khán; the Banársi Nawáb, his son; Zahúr 'Ali Khán, son of the Banársi Nawáb; Imdád Husain Khán, son of Dil-Daler Khán. *In the verandahs*—Himmat 'Ali Khán, son of Dil-Daler Khán. Three tombs of infant daughters of Ahmad Khán; Nawáb Himmat Bahádur, grandson of Ahmad Khán; Nawáb Choṭe Khán, son of Nawáb Káim Jang. *Makbarah No. 2.*—Nawáb Mahmúd Khán, eldest son of Ahmad Khán; a child; and his Begam. *Makbarah No. 3.*—The Bibi Sáhíba, widow of Nawáb Muhammad Khán Ghazanfar Jang, and two other Begams. *In the verandahs*—Sitára Begam, daughter of Ahmad Khán; Firúz Jang's mother, wife of Nawáb Buláki; Bibí Achhpal, wife of Muzaffar Jang; five Begams, names unknown. *Makbarah No. 4.*—Kábila Khánum. *Makbarah No. 5.*—A mistress of Shaukat Jang (1813—1823). *Makbarah No. 6.*—Two graves, names unknown. *Makbarah No. 7.*—Ráni Sáhíba, wife of Ahmad Khán brought by him from the east. *Makbarah No. 8.*—'Táli' Khán and Roshan Khán, chelas of Ahmad Khán. *Makbarah No. 9.*—Bakhshi Fakhr-ud-daula, assassinated in 1772-1773.

We are told in the *Lauh-i-Tárikh* that the revenue demand of the thirty-three mahals was eighty lakhs of rupees, exclusive of *jágírs*, assignments for pay, revenue-free grants, and so forth. Hisám-ud-dín tells us that the Nawáb's income was sixty lakhs of rupees. The expenditure was as follows: Three lakhs a month were required for the soldiers' pay and the household servants of every fort. One lakh went to the expenses of the three wives, to the purchase of jewels, and the feeding of *fakírs*. One lakh was spent on the elephants, horses, camels, and artillery establishment. There were five hundred guns, large and small, always ready; and the manufacture of powder and ball went on without intermission. There was in this way an expenditure of at least five lakhs a month; if there were ever any surplus, it was paid into the Treasury.

In the later years of Ahmad Khán's life, Bakhshi Fakhr-ud-daula had become the leading man in the State. He had the charge of the whole territory, and he is praised for the vigour with which he repressed the tur-

bulent. Sometimes Miyan Sábib Roshan Khán was sent eastwards to restore order. This office of *Miyan Sábib*, or familiar companion of the Nawáb, was held by a number of persons in succession. The first was Sa'datmand Khán. He was a boy, named Madan Singh, whom Roshan Khán captured on one of his expeditions, when he destroyed the village of Sabz-pur (?). When Ahmad Khán saw the lad, he took a fancy to him, made him a Muhammadan and gave him the name of Sa'datmand Khán. A year afterwards he raised him to high rank and gave him the title of Amír-zádah, telling Bakhshi Fakhr-ud-daula that every act done by Amír-zádah Sa'datmand Khán was to be considered as final, no one was to interfere. His father, Manḍal Singh, was made ruler of Kanauj.

The other *Miyan Sábibs* were: (1) Sa'dat Khán Afridi, (2) Sayyad Núr 'Ali Khán, (3) Mír Ján 'Ali Khán, (4) Roshan Khán. Sa'dat Khán was the brother of Mahmúd Khán, Bakhshi to Nawáb Káim Jang. He was appointed during the campaign in the hills (1751-2). One day the Nawáb had seen him in the bazár of Sayyad Núr 'Ali Khán and sent for him. Once the Nawáb was reading a book, while Sa'dat Khán was seated behind him to the right, engaged in keeping the flies away. Sa'dat Khán in a disrespectful way brushed with the *chaunri* the head of Núr 'Ali, who was seated next him. The Nawáb saw this and said to him, "The Omnipotent is Lord over all,—

*"Ba-chashm-i-hakárat ma-bín ba-súe kas*

*"Kih ú mantakam hast, o faryád-ras."*

Now, it was Sa'dat Khán's habit to go every fifth or sixth day to spend the night at his own house in Amēṭhi, returning to his post in the morning. A short time after the above incident, Sa'dat Khán asked for leave to go home. During the night, the Nawáb conferred on Núr 'Ali Khán double the dignity and wealth that Sa'dat Khán possessed. At the appointed time Sa'dat Khán appeared, and what should he see, but Sayyad Núr 'Ali adorned with jewels and seated on the edge of the *masnad*, at the right hand of the Nawáb. He fell into great consternation. On his approaching, the Nawáb spoke to him—"Look, Sa'dat Khán, at the work of the Causer of "all things, remember yesterday's words,—"

*Ohunán hast án khálik be-nazír,*

*Ba-yak lahza sázad gadá-rá amír.*

*Makun ba súe kas az hakárat nigáh ;*

*Kunad az takabbar sháhán rá fakír.*

"Such are the ways of the Creator without equal, in a moment He "makes a beggar into a noble, and turns a king into a beggar." Hearing

this reproof, Sa'dat 'Ali Khán was much abashed and hung down his head. A few days afterwards, he was appointed to the command of a regiment of two thousand horse.

Núr 'Ali Khán succeeded as Miyan Sáhib, and he received gifts and honours above all the other courtiers. He in turn was displaced by Mír Ján 'Ali, and he was then transferred to the maháls of Derapur-Mangalpur (now in the Cawnpur district). Ján 'Ali's father had been adopted by Mír Fath-ullah. When the Nawáb saw Ján 'Ali, he took a fancy to him and kept him at his court. His title was Miyan Sáhib Ján 'Ali Khán. He built the *masjid* on the left, as you turn out of the main bazar to drive up to the *Tahsil* in the fort. In the course of time, the Nawáb transferred his favour to Muhammad Roshan, a resident of Kanauj, and he becoming Miyan Sáhib was enriched with gifts like his predecessors. He was styled Miyan Sáhib Roshan Khán Bahádur.

#### *Ahmad Khán's wives.*

There were four wives :

1. *Dulhin Begam*—The daughter of Sanjar Khán, Paṭhán, zamindar of Rudáin, parganah Kampil.
2. *Ráni Sáhiba*—She was brought by the Nawáb from the east at the time of the siege of Allahábád.
3. *Bibi Fakhr-un-Nissa*—the sister of Karm Khán.
4. *Bibi Khairan*—the mother of Muzaffar Jang and Dildaler Khán.

There were besides many concubines. In the above list it is difficult to identify the daughter of Sher Zamán Khán Dilázák of Jaunpur, who was, according to the *Balwantnámah* (year 1164 H.), one of the wives of Ahmad Khán. In that work there is a Karm Zamán Khán named as a nephew of Sher Zamán Khán, so possibly the Karm Khán of the Farrukhábád books was the Begam's cousin instead of her brother. In that case the Jaunpur wife would be Fakhr-un-Nissa, No. 3 of the list.

#### *Ahmad Khán's children.*

He had three sons and one daughter :

1. *Mahmúd Khán*—He died in his father's lifetime and was buried in the Bihisht Bágh. Mahmúdganj in the town of Chibrámau was founded by him (*Káli Kae*, p. 134). He left one son, Himmat Bahadur, who married 'Umdah Begam, daughter of Muzaffar Jang, and died in 1240 H. (August, 1824—August, 1825), leaving one daughter, Riyázat-un-Nissa, who was twice married, first to Imdád Husain Khán, son of Dildaler Khán ; secondly to Himmat 'Ali Khán, a younger brother of her first husband.

2. *Daler Himmát Khan*—Muzaffar Jang, who succeeded his father. He will be dealt with separately.

3. *Dil Daler Khan*—He retired to Benares about 1786, and the tradition is that he committed suicide there in January, 1799, at the time of Wazír 'Ali Khán's rising. The story will be told in Part II. From the Agency records it appears, however, that he died on the 19th Sha'bán 1214 H. (18th January 1800), fully a year after Wazír 'Ali's insurrection. He left four sons and three daughters, whose names with their alliances and descendants will be seen from the genealogical table appended to this Part.

4. *Sitára Begam*—She married Muhammad Zamán Khán, son of Murtazza Khán Bārsiri, *i. e.*, the big-headed, fourth son of Nawáb Muhammad Khán. When she died, she was buried in the Kásim Bāgh, beside her aunt, Roshan Jahán, eldest daughter of Nawáb Muhammad Khán. She was supposed to share with her aunt the power of driving away evil spirits. Others point out her tomb in the Bihisht Bāgh (see p. 157).

#### *Ahmad Khán's Chelas.*

According to the custom of the family, Nawáb Ahmad Khán made about three or four hundred Hindu boys into chelas. Those who had charge of his territory acquired much wealth; the rest who received only pay and gifts rose to no eminence. They were all known as Ghalib Bachha.

1. *Zu'lfikár Khan*—In Ahmad Khán's time there were three men known as nawábs, at whose houses the "*naubat*" was played: 1st, Ahmad Khán himself, called the *Bare nawáb*; 2nd, Zu'lfikár Khán, called the *Majhle nawáb*; 3rd, Dáim Khán called the *Chhote nawáb*. Zu'lfikár Khán's titles were "Sharf-ud-daula Zu'lfikár Khán Bahádur Shamsheer Jang." His seal bore the inscription—

*Ān kih dar bázúe-pákash kuvvat khair dar est  
Az 'atáe Ahmádí khúsh Zu'lfikár Haidar est.*

He was Názim of parganah Shamsábád and had his head-quarters at 'Aliganj, Tappa 'Azimnagar, (now in the Eta district). Up to 1839 a fine building, a *bāgh*, and women's apartments existed there. He repaired all the dilapidations in the town wall and in the fort built there by Yáqút Khán.

2. *Dáim Khan*—Islám Khán, chela of Shamsheer Khán, chela of Nawáb Muhammad Khán, had two sons (1) Roshan Khán and (2) Dáim Khán. The elder brother, Roshan Khán, was one of the courtiers of Nawáb Ahmad Khán. When Dáim Khán was six or seven years old, one day Roshan Khán took him in his *palki* to the Nawáb's audience. The Nawáb asked whose child he was. Roshan Khán replied, that he was his younger



brother. The Nawáb then asked his name, and he was told it was Dáim. Ahmad Khán said he would adopt him and gave him the titles of 'Azim Jang Muhammad Dáim Khán Bahádur, but he was popularly known as the Chhoṭe Nawáb. When he grew up he was married with great display to Muni Bibi, the daughter of Bakhshi Fakhr-ud-daula.

In his childhood the Emperor Ahmad Sháh had held him in his lap, fed him and with his own hand put on his shoulders miniature kettle-drums (*naḡkáraḡ* and *ḡauḡkí*), thus conferring upon him the "*naubat*."

In 1839 buildings still existed in the city, which had been built by this chela. (1.) There was a masonry bridge (known still as "*Pul-pukhta*"), in the middle of the city, which had stood then the heavy traffic of seventy or eighty years. There were also (2) a masonry well with steps at the Mau gate, which is still in existence, although out of repair, and (3) a mansion within the fort, to the north of the Imámbara; it was afterwards occupied by Ahmad Yár Khán Náib (died 9th December, 1839); and in 1839 was known by the name of Himmat Bahádur's house. (4) Dáim Khán's Mahal-Sarái was at one side of the fort, in the low land, surrounded by the houses of poor people; and near it was a private enclosed garden (*Khána bágh*). His descendants dismantled the buildings, sold the materials, and having consumed the proceeds, handed over the land to cultivators. (5) He also planted the *bágh* near the Mau gate called the Chahár Bágh, afterwards in the possession of the Nawáb Rais, and (6) he planted a *bágh* and made a masonry well with four runs near the Madár Darwáza, traces of which existed in 1839. (7.) There is a Dáimganj adjoining the town of Chibrámau, which he established and named it after himself.

So long as the parganah belonged to the Farrukhábád Nawáb, Dáim Khán was the nominal manager of Parganah Sháhpur-Akbarpur (now in the Cawnpur district). The *jágir* of Pukhráyán in that parganah was continued to him by Miyán Almás 'Ali Khán, the Audh 'Amil, and it remained with the family till it was sold by auction in 1845, in execution of a decree of the Civil court.

Dáim Khán himself paid no attention to business, he left all such work to *kárinḡas* who embezzled the money. Nawáb Dáim Khán would then be forced to pay out of his pocket, or would beg Ahmad Khán to remit the amount. His whole time was spent in taking his ease, in hunting with falcons or *bajri* (a kind of hawk), in shooting tigers, in *chita* hunting, in wrestling or gymnastics, in listening to singing or looking on at dancing. Nawáb Ahmad Khán had given him lakhs of rupees or goods, by way of present, but he squandered it all in his pleasures. By Muni Bibi he had three sons: (1) Daler 'Ali Khán, entitled Fath Jang, (2) Rustam 'Ali Khán, (3) Ahmad 'Ali Khán. Daler 'Ali Khán had a son, Madár Khán, who turned *fakir* and took the name of Mahndi Sháh. Rustam 'Ali Khán

had no children. Ahmad 'Ali Khán had only one daughter, and she married a Pathán of some village near Koil. From Dáim Khán was derived much of the information recorded by Bahádur 'Ali, joint author of the *Lauh-i-Tárikh*, his grandfather Sayyad Ghulam Hussain (who died 1226 H. January, 1811—January, 1812), having been for forty years in Dáim Khán's service, and lived at the gateway of his house in Farrukhábád.

3. *Fakhr-ud-daula*—He was a chela of Muhammad Khán's time (see p. 346, Vol. XLVII.). He was Ahmad Khán's first Bakhshi, and played a prominent part in the later years of that Nawáb's life, and in the first year of Muzaffar Jang's reign. He was assassinated in 1772-3 and is buried in the Bihisht Bágh.

4. *Rahmat Khán*—He was the son of Jahán Khán, chela of Muhammad Khán. He became second Bakhshi. He was fond of men of learning and passed his time in fasting and prayer. He was noted for his generosity and bravery.

5. *Háji Sarfaráz Khán*—He was the third Bakhshi. He had the peculiarity of prefacing every sentence he spoke with the words "*B'ism-illah.*"

6. *Námdár Khán*—No. 29 in list of Muhammad Khán's chelas. The fourth Bakhshi.

7. *Mihrbán Khán*—He held the post of Diwán. He was the son of a Rájah whose father, during the Allahábád campaign, presented him to the Nawáb. He was a poet, had written a *Diwán* and was very eloquent; Wali-ullah gives us a specimen of his poetry. The celebrated poets, Mirzá Rafi Sauda and Mir Soz, were for a long time in his employ.

8. *Islám Khán*—At one time he held the office of third Bakhshi. He had a house close to the Buland Mahal in the fort (which in 1839 was occupied by Nawáb Tajammul Husain Khán, Zafar Jang). Once Nawáb Ahmad Khán asked him how many sons he had. Islám Khán replied, that he had five, Amána, Karámata, Bakwa, Rahmaná, Barhná. The Nawáb, out of sympathy for his large family, appointed him Faujdár of Kásganj (now in the Eta district). Islám Khán started, taking as usual some of the Nawáb's foot soldiers and a couple of guns. When the money-dealers and landholders came to present their offerings to the new Faujdár, Islám Khán, addressing them in full durbar, said he had been sent to procure money, and within eight days the monied men must produce one lakh of rupees. He would give a bond making the money repayable with interest from the incoming revenue. They all began to make excuse. Then Islám Khán set up a triangle and had several money-lenders flogged. To save their honour, the rest joined together to provide the lakh of rupees. Islám Khán gave them a bond for the amount.

He then wrote to the Patháns of Mau, Káimganj and Shamsábád, calling for men to take service. Any one between twelve and sixty years of age might present himself, and the Ámil's message was, that if he refused to employ them, on him should be the curse; if they failed to come, on them let it be. In one month he had collected five thousand men. He then marched from Kásganj towards Márahra and began to plunder the villages of the Háthras\* and Mursán Rájahs,† both now in the Aligarh district. The people began to ask what sort of a Tahsildar this was who, instead of looking after his parganah, got together an army and went to war.

It was reported to Nawáb Ahmad Khán that Islám Khán, having levied a lakh of rupees from the Kásganj money-lenders by threats of imprisonment, had started with an army, and had already plundered the Ját of Mursán. It was said that he had reached Firúzábád;‡ that he had surrounded it with his horsemen and had not retired till he had received twenty thousand rupees.

Nawáb Ahmad Khán sent a parwánah to Islám Khán by a camel rider's hand, saying he had only intended to provide him with enough to live on, what was this that he had done? By entering another's territory and plundering in all directions, he had caused disgrace to his master's name. Islám Khán's reply was, that the Nawáb had no reason to be dissatisfied, for in two months he would seat him on the throne of Delhi. His army had risen to close upon ten thousand men.

The Rájah of Háthras wrote to complain of the invasion, and the Nawáb replied, that the slave had rebelled, and the Rájah should punish him. On receiving this reply, the Rájah of Háthras called on the Rájah of Bhartpur, a Ját and related to him, for the aid of his troops. The Rájah of Bhartpur sent one thousand men to Háthras. There were several encounters with Islám Khán's troops, and numbers were killed on both sides. At length Islám Khán's army was defeated, and all his money was used up. Then Islám Khán mounted his Irání mare, and rode in one day from near Mursán to Farrukhábád. On hearing that he had arrived, the Nawáb sent for him and enquired why he had behaved like a scoundrel in plundering the country. His answer was, that he had determined to take Delhi and seat the Nawáb upon the Imperial throne, but fate had not so willed it. The Nawáb was forced to smile, and after a long time he was restored to his post of Bakhshi. Meanwhile his army, on being left to itself, dispersed.

They say that this chela was by caste a Kalár (spirit-dealer). His

\* Gaz. N. W. P. II, p. 429.

† Gaz. N. W. P. II, p. 435.

‡ This cannot be the place of that name between Agra and Etawah, and I know of no other.

five sons adopted the Shia heresy, and two of them were killed at the Farrukhábád *Karbala* during the Muharram ceremonies. They were named Ibráhim Khán and Rahmán Khán (Rahmáná). Another son was killed in a private quarrel at the door of Rahmat Khán *Sawárah-wáldá*. The fourth died a natural death. The fifth, Amán Khán, was alive when Bahádur 'Ali wrote in 1839.

Islám Khán is said to have been in twelve fights, and he had received many wounds. Every day he drank spirits, but in Farrukhábád in Muzaffar Jang's time that was thought no fault. If any friend asked him his sect he would say, "Besides Allah, I know nothing, and my creed is this '*La-illah-illa-allah, Ahmad Khán rasúl allah,*' for has he not made me from "a Hindu into a Muhammadan." He was so attached to intoxicating liquor that on the day he died, some hour or two before his death, he had a bottle of spirits and a cup beside him. He went on demanding spirits from his sons and drinking. One son said "Khán Sáhib, your death is now "near, renounce wine, and God will forgive your sins." He said to him, "My son, why renounce it now, I never did so when I was well, bring me "the wine-cup and fill it to the brim." He drank and shortly after expired. As an instance of his freedom of spirit, they relate that he was once sent as *Kotwál* to Mau, which he brought into thorough order. One day, however, a Pathán attacked him and cut him with a knife. Islám Khán came away at once and remarked to the Nawáb that his sons-in-law, *i. e.*, the Patháns, were coming to take possession of his city and fort.

9. *Diláwar Khán*—Called *Chunti* or the ant, from the extreme irascibility of his temper. I know not if this is the Diláwar 'Ali Khán mentioned by Káli Ráe, (p. 108) who was 'Amil of 'Azimnagar. That man had been a Thakur, and was the son of Dhan Singh and the brother of Tej Singh.

10. *Sulaimán Khán*—Darogha of camels.

11. *Shuja't-dil Khán*—Called Shuja'-ud-daula, who held the office of Khánsámán.

12. *Musharraf Khán*—Mír Tozak. He was a chela of Muhammad Khán's time.

13. *Jowáhir Khán*—'Arz Begi.

14. *Bakht-buland Khán*—Apparently this is the son of Báz Bahádur Khán, mentioned by Káli Ráe, p. 108, Gaz. IV, 69.

15. *Mubárik Khán*.

16. *Bázid Khán*—Khánsámán.

17. *Súfi Khán*—He was originally Gauhar Singh, Thákur of Daulatábád, Parganah Sakrawah (Káli Ráe, p. 138). He held Majhúpur in that Parganah in *jágir*.

18. *Kaif Khán.*
19. *Jamál Khán.*
20. *Kamál Khán.*
21. *Zaráfat Khán Umrá-zádah*—He established a village on the road from Farrukhábád to Kanauj, but in 1839 there was nothing left standing but a broken masonry gate.
22. *Aftáb Khán.*
23. *Tála'war Khán.*
24. *Shamsher Khán.*
25. *Bára Khán*—Masjid Wala.
26. *Mahtáb Khán.*
27. *Pahár Khán.*
28. *Shádíl Khán.*
29. *Bádal Khán.*
30. *Mangal Khán.*
31. *Neknám Khán.*
32. *Muzaffar-díl Khán.*
33. *Manavvar Khán.*
34. *Kále Khán*—'Arz-begi.
35. *Muhammad Yár-Khán*—Dáipuri.

Besides these, there were scores of slaves employed in various ways, some carried gold sticks, and others coloured bambus. Some were provided with caps like those of the *Kizil-básh* or the Faringis. A large number were occupied with the charge of the war material. Others were personal servants, such as *abdárs*, attendants at the bath-room, keepers of rosaries, attendants to help in the ablutions for prayers, for driving away flies, for preparing and offering *pán*, or for carrying shoes. To guard the private apartments, where the Nawáb slept, was the duty of a trusty servant, Sháh Beg Khán Bangash. The guards of the inner and the outer doorway were Shamsher Khán, Gulsher Khán, chela, and Bakhtáwar Khán, chela. The command of the fort was held by Mír Muhammad Fazl 'Ali.

*Chronological Table of the reigning Nawábs of Farrukhábád, 1713—1857, A. D.*

Number.	Name, with father's name.	Mother's name.	Date of Birth.	Date of Accession.	Date of Death.
1	Muhammad Khán, Ghazanfar Jang, son of Malak 'Ain Khán.	Not known.	Not known.	1125 H. Jan. 1713—Jan. 1714.	2nd Zi'l Ka'd, 1156. 9th Dec. 1743.
2	Káim Khán, son of No. 1.	Máliya Bánú, Bibi Sáhíba.	Not known.	Zi'l Ka'd, 1156. Dec. 1743.	12th Zi'l Hajj, 1161. 23rd Nov. 1748.
3	Imám Khán, son of No. 1.	Not known.	Born at Muhamdabad, date unknown.	16th Zi'l Hajj, 1161. 27th Nov. 1748.	1163, date unknown. Nov. 1749, Nov. 1750.
4	Ahmad Khán Ghálib Jang, son of No. 1.	Not known.	Not known.	Sha'bán, 1163. June, July, 1750.	28th Rabi I, 1185. 12th July, 1771.
5	Daler Himmat Khán Muzaffar Jang, son of No. 4.	Khair-un-nissa Begam.	At Farrukhabad, 1171 H. Sept. 1757—Sept. 1758.	28th Rabi I, 1185. 12th July, 1771.	8th Rabi II, 1211. 23rd Oct. 1796.
6	Imdád Hussain Khán Násir Jang, son of No. 5.	Not known.	At Farrukhabad, 1197 H. Dec. 1782—Nov. 1783.	8th Rabi II, 1211. 23rd Oct. 1796.	28th Muharram, 1228. 1st Feb. 1813.
7	Khádim Hussain Khán Shaukat Jang, son of No. 6.	Sarfaráz Mahal.	27th Ramzán, 1217. 20th March, 1803.	Muharram, 1228. 1st Feb. 1813.	29th Shawwál, 1238, at Delhi. 12th July, 1823.
8	Tajammul Hussain Khán Zaffar Jang, son of No. 7.	Mumtáz Mahal.	Jamádi I, 1238. 31st Jan. 1823.	Zi'l Ka'd, 1238. 13th July, 1823.	18th Zi'l Ka'd, 1262. 9th Nov. 1846.
9	Tafazzul Hussain Khán, son of Nasrat Jang, and cousin of No. 8, grandson of No. 6.	Sultan Aliya Begam.	5th Rabi II, 1243. 26th Oct. 1827.	Dec. 1846,	Exiled to Mecca, 1859.







*Genealogical Table of Sa'dat Khán Burhán-ul-Mulk's family.*

